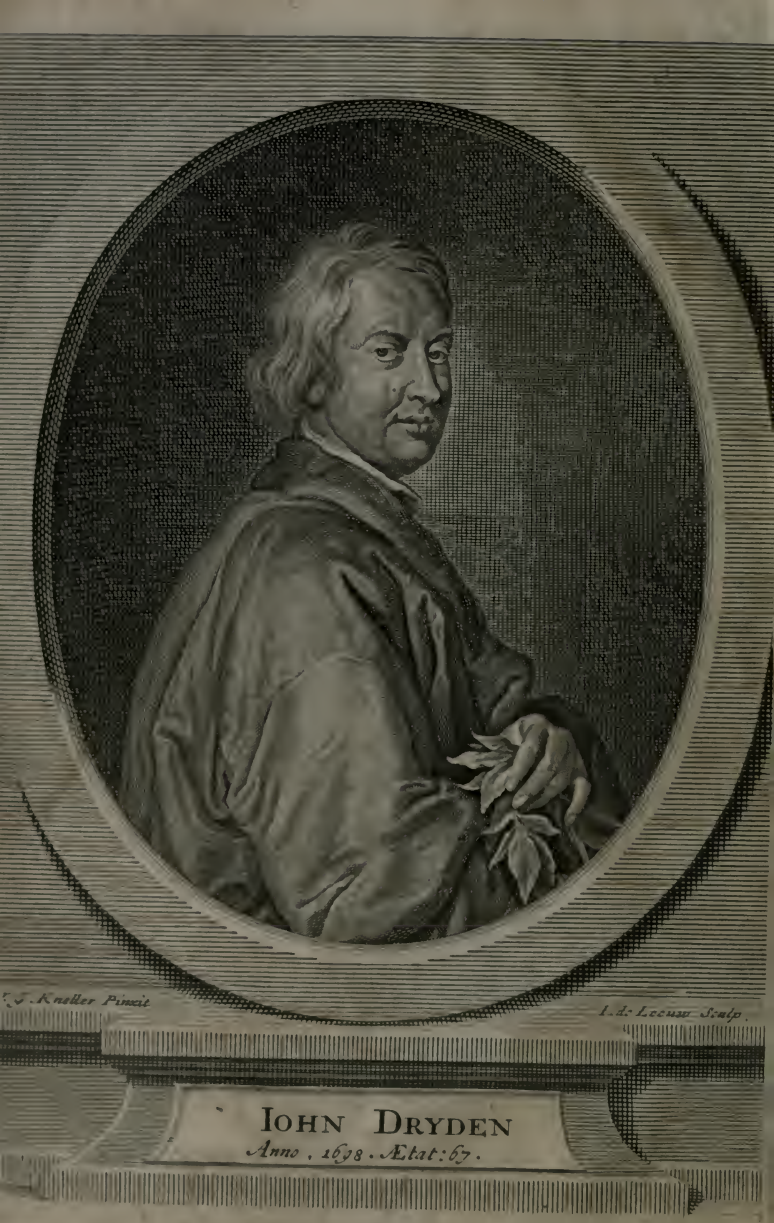
Thomas Dethick

Henry Seymour
1834.

Lionel R. M. Strachan
Heidelberg
15 May 1913



G. Knellet Pinxit

I. d. Lecuw Sculp.

JOHN DRYDEN

Anno . 1698 . Ætat: 67 .

THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS OF JOHN DRYDEN, Esq;

CONTAINING ALL HIS

ORIGINAL POEMS, TALES,

AND

TRANSLATIONS.

Now first Collected and Published together

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

ALSO AN

ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:
Printed for J. and R. TONSON, in the Strand.
MDCCLX.

TO

HIS GRACE

The DUKE of NEWCASTLE.

MY LORD,

IF I presume to address to your Grace these Miscellanies of one of our greatest English poets, now first collected and illustrated with Notes; perhaps the acknowledged eminence of the author may apologise for the inconsiderableness of the editor. To whom can these poems be more properly inscribed than to such a patron as Dryden himself would have chosen; a nobleman of the first distinction, known to love polite learning, because he understands and tastes it; and eminent for his candour, no less than his discernment?

Had the writer I here introduce to your Grace been, for the honour of Great Britain, ſtill alive, what a noble field would have been now open to his genius, for exerting all its powers, in celebrating your long and unwearied application to public buſineſs, that zeal and fidelity with which you have acquitted yourſelf in the ſervice of one of the beſt of kings! Then, my lord, the juſt praiſes of our countrymen under your Grace's adminiſtration, had been touched by a pen adequate to their worth. The memorable year ſeventeen hundred and fifty-nine, would have ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre to lateſt poſterity, in his proſe and verſe equally, for he was equally a maſter of both.

The defeat of a numerous French army by a handful of Britons on the plains of Minden! All the plans our enemies

had formed for attacking and diſtreſſing our ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies, baffled and diſappointed! Senegal and Goree torn from them in Africa! Guadaloupe in the Weſt-Indies become a Britiſh colony! Louisbourg taken! And by the important reduction of Quebec, all North America laid open to our arms! The fleets of France twice beaten in the Mediterranean! and the ruin of her Marine compleated upon the Ocean! Almoſt all theſe are the events of one year, under a miniſtry in which your Grace acts ſo illuſtrious a part. Had we then a Dryden among us, to what heights muſt the ſubject have raiſed ſuch a writer? With what ſublimity of thought and expreſſion, with what happy elegance and variety of harmony would ſuch a writer have adorned his ſubject? Inferior authors can only look up to this ſummit of Par-

naſſus, without even the vain hope of being able to reach it; but my utmoſt ambition will be gratified, if this public dedication to your Grace of ſo noble a poet's remains may be, if not approved, at leaſt forgiven, and admitted as a mark of the inviolable reſpect and attachment with which I have the honour to ſubſcribe myſelf,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt humble

and obedient Servant,

London, Feb. 20, 1760.

Samuel Derrick.

ADVERTISEMENT

CONCERNING

THIS EDITION

OF

DRYDEN's WORKS.

WHILE editions of Chaucer, Spencer, Shakeſpear, Milton, and many writers of a much inferior claſs, have been preſented to the world complete, is it not ſurpriſing that Dryden, equal in almoſt every reſpect to all of them, ſcarcely inferior to any, has remained till now a ſingle ſolitary exception? The thin folio of his poetical works printed in 1701, was extremely imperfect; and the two volumes in twelves, publiſhed in 1742, were far from being ſufficiently comprehenſive.

To remedy theſe defects, and to unite the whole of his original poems and tranſlations (the plays and his Virgil excepted) has been the buſineſs of the preſent editor. As the former of theſe conſiſt of ſatires, politics, and private hiſtory, which in a few years would become almoſt unintelligible, the occaſions of them being removed to ſuch vaſt diſtance, he has added notes in every place that ſeemed to demand them; which, while they illuſtrate the text, he has endeavoured to make as entertaining as truth, the invariable guide of his inquiry, would admit.

Over ſome paſſages, indeed, time has let fall a veil of obſcurity, which his utmoſt induſtry has not been able to penetrate.

In his ſearch he was fully convinced, that he could not be too ſpeedy in rendering this ſignal ſervice to one of the greateſt writers that ever adorned theſe kingdoms; as the people beſt acquainted with the tranſactions, to which moſt of his pieces relate, are almoſt all deceaſed, conſequently the materials for ſuch a work are daily diminiſhing; ſo that ſhortly theſe inimitable writings muſt have remained wholly without a key.

He ſhould think himſelf ungrateful did he not here acknowledge, that he owes much to the communication of David Mallet, Eſq; whoſe polite writings are an ornament to the age; to the learned and accurate Dr. Birch, ſecretary to the Royal Society; and to the candour and ingenuity of the reverend Mr. Walter Harte, one of the canons of Windſor.

He begs leave to obſerve to the inquiring critic, that he has no where preſumed to enter the liſts with his author as a diſputant; neither has he exhauſted his paper in tediouſly praiſing or impertinently cenſuring him. Such a proceeding he would look upon as an inſult to the underſtanding of his readers; by preſcribing bounds to their judgment, like the virtuoſo who inſiſted that no body could ſee well but through his glaſs. He has confined himſelf meerly to the explain-

ing what relates principally to the author, his friends and enemies; the ſituations of times, and occaſions of writing; neither does he pretend to burthen the reader's attention with heaps of quotations from learned authors. Some remarkable imitations he has indeed pointed out; and for the reſt, he leaves the reader to employ his own application; which may perhaps be thought on both ſides moſt eligible.

The editor was a good deal diſappointed at not being able, with all his induſtry, to obtain any eſſential materials relating to our author's life or his works, though he applied to the preſent Sir John Dryden, through the means of a friend, who has a conſiderable fortune in his neighbourhood. He alſo addreſſed himſelf on this head in perſon to a deſcendant of our poet's, near Berkley-ſquare; but cannot ſay he met with any information that gave him ſatisfaction.

He has with his utmoſt care been able only to recover two of Dryden's manuſcript letters, one to Wilmot, Earl of Rocheſter; the other to Mrs. Thomas, otherwiſe known by the name of Fair Corinna; and for theſe there did not appear any proper place in theſe four volumes. It has been ſaid that many of his letters are in the hands of one of the Saville family; if the report be true, it is to be hoped that the poſſeſſor will be public-ſpirited enough to communicate ſuch a treaſure to the world, as, from the ſpecimens we have by us, we are perſuaded

a collection of his letters would be the moſt agreeable that ever came from the preſs; and the bequeathing them to poſterity would make the memory of the donor immortal.

In the arranging of the larger of our author's original pieces, we have paid a ſtrict regard to the times in which they were written; beginning firſt with the earlieſt. The dedication of the Annus Mirabilis to the city of London, is added from the firſt edition of that poem in 4to; and we have given the entire ſecond part of Abſalom and Achitophel, though a good deal of it was written by Tate, becauſe the whole narration is rendered thereby more perfect and uniform. We have alſo reprinted Soam's tranſlation of the Art of Poetry, as Dryden had a very conſiderable hand in it, and permitted his name to be inſerted in the title-page in his own lifetime.

We have been very exact in arranging the epiſtles according to chronological order, which was never done before, and have retained that to Julian, becauſe we find it in the ſixth volume of the Miſcellanies; and therefore, though we have not the higheſt opinion of its value, we cannot ſuppoſe it to be an impoſition. We have paid the ſame regard to the elegies and epitaphs, two of which are not in the edition of 1742; neither are the firſt ſong in this collection, entituled the Fair Stranger, nor the Secular Maſque, nor yet the prologue to the Miſtakes; the epilogue to the Huſband his own Cuckold, and the prologue and epilogue to the Pilgrim. The

prologues and epilogues are, as nearly as we could prove, here printed in their order of time; and for the dates of many of them we are particularly obliged to Mr. Garrick, who with great civility gave us the uſe of his fine collection of old 4to plays.

The third volume of this edition may now, more properly than ever, be called Dryden's Fables, as it contains ſuch of the Tales of Chaucer as he has modernized; his tranſlations from Boccace, and ſuch of the Metamorphoſes as he tranſlated: all diſpoſed in their reſpective places. We were a good deal mortified to find ourſelves obliged to run part of the latter into our fourth volume, otherwiſe our third would have ſwelled beyond all ſize; and this we had the more reaſon to lament, as it broke in upon the uniformity which we flattered ourſelves we ſhould have been able in this edition to preſerve. At the ſame time, for reaſons of a ſimilar nature, we were under a neceſſity of adding the tranſlations from Theocritus, Lucretius, and Horace, to the end of the ſecond volume.

In our fourth volume we have added the 19th elegy of the ſecond book of Ovid's Amours; and Dryden's fine dedication of Juvenal, together with ſuch of the ſatires as he tranſlated, and the whole of his Perſius, none of them in the edition of 1742.

Thus we think we have collected all his looſe pieces; and if this edition ſhould meet that encouragement from the public, which the merits

of ſuch an author deſerve, and which by our labour we have endeavoured to awaken, we ſhall reprint his Virgil and his Plays in the ſame ſize, which will make up a complete and uniform ſet of his works.

No body, we hope, will blame us for leaving out in this edition moſt of the complimentary copies of verſes prefixed to our author's works: they were few of them worth preſerving; but it was the cuſtom of the times for every man who was ſuppoſed capable of writing, to furniſh his friend with ſuch a preſent, on his printing any thing; and the publication of them, indiſcriminately, was obſerved, becauſe they were moſtly ſolicited.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DRYDEN, Esq;

DRYDEN's universal genius, his firmly established reputation, and the glory his memory must always reflect upon the nation that gave him birth, make us ardently wish for a more accurate life of him than any which has hitherto appeared: nor will, we hope, the learned writers of the Biographica Britannica, nor those of the General Dictionary, be offended with us for thinking, that, even after their labours, something farther may be done. That we are furnished with some new materials, the judicious reader will easily perceive: where these are wanting, we have endeavoured to be more clear, by being less diffusive, and by avoiding as much as possible that variety of notes, into which they seem by their plan to have been necessarily led.

The Drydens are a reputable and wealthy family, settled at Canons-Ashby in Northamptonshire; the chief of which, Erasmus, was by letters patent of James I. dated in November 1619, advanced to the dignity of a Baronet. He intermarried with the daughter of William Wilkes, Esq; of Hodnel, in Warwickshire; and Erasmus Dryden, of Tichmarsh, in the county of Northampton, Esq; the third son of this marriage, had for his eldest born and heir, by Mary the daughter of John Pickering, D. D. rector of Aldwincle, John, whose life we are now about to write.

John Dryden was born at Aldwincle, near Oundle, Auguſt the 9th, 1631, and on his father's death came into poſſeſſion of an eſtate of 200 *l.* per ann. He is ſaid to have been bred an anabaptiſt, and this may in ſome meaſure excuſe the praiſes he has beſtowed on Oliver. It redounds to a man's honour to ſee his errors, and renounce them: there cannot be a ſtronger proof of judgment and integrity, and we have no reaſon to doubt Dryden's being afterwards zealouſly attached to the Stuart's family, through duty as well as gratitude.

He was bred at Weſtminſter-ſchool, under the great Doctor Buſby, being entered a king's ſcholar: while here he wrote the poem on lord Haſtings's death, which is the firſt in this collection, and tranſlated the Third Satire of Perſius, for a Thurſday night's exerciſe. The latter is much the better performance; and it is not unlikely that he retouched it before he permitted it to be publiſhed. He ſays, he believes he left ſeveral other poetical exerciſes in the hands of his learned preceptor. In 1650 he was elected thence a ſcholar of Trinity-college, Cambridge. His heroic ſtanzas on the death of the Lord Protector, appeared in 1658; and on the reſtoration he publiſhed a poem called Aſtrea Redux; with another on king Charles the Second's Coronation. On New-year's day 1662, he preſented a poem to lord chancellor Hyde; and the ſame year wrote a looſe ſatire on the Dutch, the firſt twenty-four lines of which he afterwards prefixed as a prologue to his play of Amboina, with an addition of the ten laſt lines. The concluſion of this ſatire beginning——

To one well-born th' affront is worſe, &c.

introduced by four new lines, ſerve here as an epilogue.

His firſt play was a comedy called the Wild Gallant, the plot of which, he ſays, was not originally his own. It was but cooly received, and this convinced him, that for a firſt attempt in dramatic poetry, co-

medy, which is the most difficult part of it, was a bold one. I suppose it might have been exhibited in 1663; as his second performance of this kind, being a tragi-comedy intitled the Rival Ladies, was brought out in 1664, and published with a dedication to the great Roger earl of Orrery; in which he stands forth as an advocate for writing plays in rhyme. Here he observes, that before the days of Shakespear, lord Buckhurst had written a play in rhyme, entituled, Queen Gorboduc, whereas it was King Gorboduc, the composition blank verse; and only the two last acts were written by that eminent nobleman; the author of the three first acts being one Mr. Thomas Norton. These are oversights, in which Langbaine, who misses no opportunity of using our author with asperity, triumphs prodigiously. His arguments were controverted by Sir Robert Howard, in a preface to a volume containing some dramatic pieces; and defended by him in his essay on Dramatic Poesy, which was printed in 1668. A reply to this defence appeared before Sir Robert's Duke of Lerma, and an answer to it is prefixed to our author's Indian Emperor. Here I believe the dispute dropp'd; in keeping up of which Dryden was not so much to blame, as Langbane in his lives of the Dramatic Poets would fain insinuate; for Sir Robert was certainly the aggressor.

The gentleman last mentioned assisted our author in writing a tragedy called the Indian Queen, which was acted with applause in 1665. In the summer of this year he presented the dutchess of York with a copy of verses on the signal victory gained by the duke her husband over the Hollanders at sea, and on her grace's journey into the north.

His fourth play, called the tragedy of the Indian Emperor, or the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, being the sequel of the Indian Queen, was exhibited in October 1667, and met with prodigious success. It is written in heroic verse or rhyme

and dedicated to the dutchefs of Monmouth and Buccleugh.

Sir William D'Avenant joined with Dryden in altering Shakefpear's Tempeft. It was prefented, with the additional name of the Inchanted Iſland, at the duke's theatre in 1667, as appears from the epilogue, and greatly approved of. We are informed in the preface, that the humour of the failors was of Sir William's writing; and that he invented the character of Hippolito, who never faw a woman, to match with Miranda in Shakefpear's Tempeft, who never faw a man.

Sir William D'Avenant dying in April 1668, our author fucceeded him as poet-laureat and hiftoriographer to the king.

An Evening's Love, or the Mock Aſtrologer, a comedy, was exhibited at the theatre royal in 1671, and dedicated to the romantic writing duke of Newcaſtle; before it we find a preface, in which the author diſcourſes upon comedy and farce, and their difference; paſſes ſome ſtrictures upon Ben. Jonſon, and then proceeds to defend poets in plagiariſm and imitation, when made to good purpoſe. His arguments on this head are candid and judicious. It was in this memorable year, that the duke of Buckingham ſatirized him ſo ſeverely in the play of the Rehearſal, under the name of Bayes: this character was originally called Bilboa, and intended for Sir Robert Howard; but the knight was deprived of the compliment by the breaking out of the plague, whereby the exhibition of the piece, which was finiſhed in 1665, was prevented. It muſt be owned, the ridicule is in many places juſt and ſtriking, though Mr. Dryden affects to treat it with great contempt, particularly in the dedication of his tranſlations from Juvenal and Perſius to the earl of Dorſet, ſee vol. iv. of this edit. p. 163, near the bottom. The plays of our author ridiculed in this whimſical performance, are, the Wild Gallant; Tyrannic Love; the Conqueſt of

Grenada, both parts; Marriage A-la-Mode; and Love in a Nunnery.

Tyrannic Love, or the Royal Martyr, is written in rhyme, and dedicated to the duke of Monmouth. We are told in the preface that it was finished in seven weeks, with an intention "to prove, against the ene-"mies of the stage, that patterns of piety decently "represented and equally removed from the extremes "of superstition and prophaneness, may be of excel-"lent use to second the precepts of religion." The plot of this tragedy being the martyrdom of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, is taken from Herodian and other historians.

To the first part of the Conquest of Grenada, there is prefixed an essay on Heroic Plays; and the second part is followed by a defence of the epilogue, or an essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the preceding age, in which epilogue he is severe upon Ben. Jonson. These two plays were attacked by one Richard Leigh, an actor of the duke of York's company, in a pamphlet, entitled, "A Censure of the Rota of "Mr. Dryden's Conquest of Grenada." This was answered by "The friendly Vindication of Mr. Dry-"den from the censure of the Rota. Camb. 1673, 4to. "Mr. Dryden vindicated, in answer to the Friendly "Vindication, &c. Lond. 4to. 1673. A Description of "the Academy of the Athenian Virtuosi, 4to. Lond. "1673." It was also abused in 1674 by Elkanah Settle, in a 4to pamphlet, entitled, "Notes and In-"terpretations on the Empress of Morocco, revised, "with some few erratas to be printed instead of the "postscript, with the next edition of the Conquest "of Grenada;" and I fancy this is the same pamphlet mentioned in the Biographia Britannia, under the name of "Reflections on several of Mr. Dryden's plays, "particularly on the first and second parts of the "Conquest of Grenada, by E. Settle, gent. Lond. "1687, 4to."

Settle's Empreſs of Morocco was performed at the duke's theatre in 1673, and publiſhed afterwards with cuts. Some expreſſions in the preface having made Dryden very angry, he publiſhed a 4to pamphlet, called "Notes and Obſervations on the Empreſs of "Morocco, or ſome few erratas to be printed in-"ſtead of the ſculptures with the ſecond edition of "the play." In this piece he has treated Settle with a good deal of ſcurrility, and the latter has not failed to return it, in his reply above mentioned.

Dryden was ſenſible that both parts of the Conqueſt of Grenada lay very open to cenſure; for in the preface to the Spaniſh Fryar, written ſome years after, he ſays, "I remember ſome verſes of my own Almanſor "cry vengeance upon me for their extravagance; "all I can ſay for thoſe paſſages, which are, I hope, "not many, is that I knew they were bad enough to "pleaſe even when I writ them." Here we ſee he charges his failings upon the depraved taſte of the age, and will not admit them to be laid to the account of his own judgment.

Lord Lanſdown thus ſeconds him in his eſſay concerning unnatural Flights in Poetry.

"Dryden himſelf, to pleaſe a frantic age,
"Was forc'd to let his judgment ſtoop to rage;
"To a wild audience he conform'd his voice,
"Comply'd by cuſtom, but not err'd by choice,
"Deem then the people's, not the writer's ſin,
"Almanſor's rage, and rants of Maximin.
"That fury ſpent; in each laborious piece
"He vies for fame with antient Rome and Greece."

Marriage A-la-mode is a tragi-comedy, or rather a play made up of two actions; the one ſerious, the other comic, and not ſo ſtrongly interwoven, but that they may eaſily be taken aſunder, without much damage being done to either. It is dedicated to the witty earl of Rocheſter, who I ſuppoſe, made an ade-

quate return for the compliment, as I have by me a manuscript letter of our author's to that nobleman, written seemingly about this time, which I take, from the tenor of it, to have arisen from such an occasion.

The Assignation, or Love in a Nunnery, a comedy, did not succeed in the representation; and the poet, in his dedication of it to Sir Charles Sedley, says, he knows not whether to charge the miscarriage to the number of his enemies, or the defects of the performance. We have mentioned together the plays laid hold of by the author of the Rehearsal; and, as nearly as we could collect, have disposed them in the order in which they were acted; for they were not printed in that order. If Sir Martin Marr-all, another comedy of our author's, did not appear before the Assignation, it came out at much the same time, as may be gathered from the prologue to a play of Ravenscroft's called the Careless Lovers, in which mention is made of both these pieces having met with no very kind reception.

In 1673, our author's thirteenth play was exhibited at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane: it was entituled Amboina, or the Cruelties of the Dutch to the English Merchants, a tragedy; and published with a dedication to Lord Clifford of Chudleigh. Though written in a month, it succeeded well on the stage, the subject being very popular, as we were then at war with Holland.

In 1675 he introduced a comedy to the stage, called the Mistaken Husband. It was not his own, though it has been attributed to him; but he protected it as an orphan, and embellished it with one scene and an epilogue.

Aureng-Zebe, a tragedy, came out in 1676. The scene lies at Agra in the East-Indies, and is founded on a true story related by several historians, and told at large by Tavernier in his voyages. It is written in rhyme; and in the dedication to the Earl of

Mulgrave, it is said that King Charles not only preferred it to all the other dramatic works of our poet, but even had some hand in adjusting the contrivance of it.

The State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man, an opera, taken from Paradise Lost, was published in 1678, but never acted. Many beautiful passages are here transplanted from that excellent poem, and thrown into rhyme. Nat. Lee has prefixed to it a commendatory copy of verses, in which he pays some compliments to Dryden, at the expence of the immortal Milton: "But these," says our author very justly in his Apology for heroic poetry and poetic licence, prefixed to this piece, "ought rather to be esteemed the effect of "Mr. Lee's love than his deliberate and sober judg-"ment." It is preceded by a dedication to the duchess of York, through which runs a most delicate strain of flattery.

All for Love, or the World well lost, a tragedy, appeared the same year; and Dryden himself, in the preface to his translation of Fresnoy's Art of Painting, tells us "it is the only thing in the dramatic way which "he ever wrote to please himself." He was particularly fond of the fine scene in the first act between Anthony and Ventidius. This play is on all hands allowed to be his best: he has strictly regarded the unities of time, place, and action; and has attempted, more than once, to break a lance with Shakespear (whose Anthony and Cleopatra is on the same subject) particularly in the famous description of the queen of Egypt's sailing down the Cydnus.

Her galley down the silver Cydnus, &c.

How he has succeeded, we shall not here take upon us to decide: in his stile he professes to have imitated that prince of the drama, and on that account he has disincumbered himself of rhyme; not that he condemns that way of writing, which he so long used, but because he looks upon blank verse to be more to his purpose.

In 1679 Nat. Lee, and he in conjunction, produced a play called Oedipus, and Langbaine sets it down as one of the best tragedies we have: the contrivance and disposition of the scenery with the first and third acts, were entirely our author's, Lee justly claims the rest. The preface is a critique upon Corneille, the father of the French stage, who had previously handled the same story.

Two other of his plays appeared in the same year, *viz.* Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen; and Troilus and Cressida, or Truth found too late. The latter is an alteration from Shakespear, to whose memory much deference is paid in the preface.

The beginning of this winter, a poem was printed, called an Essay on Satire, in which Sir William Scroggs, lord chief justice of the King's Bench, Willmot earl of Rochester, the dutchess of Portsmouth, and several other remarkable personages, were treated with great freedom. Lord Mulgrave and our author wrote it in conjunction, though the nobleman was ambitious enough to endeavour to engross the honour of it to himself. On account of this performance it is thought that Rochester or the dutchess hired some ruffians, to revenge their quarrel upon the laureat, which gave rise to the following paragraph in a news-paper of those days, called *Domestic Intelligence, or News from both City and Country*, numbered 49, dated *Tuesday*, *December* 23, 1679.

"On the 18th instant in the evening, Mr. Dry-
"den, the great poet, was set upon in Rose-street,
"Covent-garden, by three persons who called him
"rogue and son of a whore, knocked him down and
"dangerously wounded him: but upon his crying
"out murder, they made their escape: it is conceiv-
"ed they had their pay before hand, and designed
"not to rob him, but to execute on him some
"*feminine* if not *popish* vengeance." In No. 50 of the same paper, dated *Friday*, *September* 26, 1679, we find this advertisement.

" Whereas on Thurſday the 18th of this inſtant, " in the evening, Mr. John Dryden was aſſaulted " and wounded in Roſe-ſtreet, Covent-garden, by di- " verſe men unknown. If any perſon ſhall make diſco- " very of the ſaid offenders to the ſaid Mr. Dryden, or " to any juſtice of peace for the liberty of Weſtmin- " ſter, he ſhall not only receive fifty pounds, which " is depoſited in the hands of Mr. Blanchard, gold- " ſmith, next door to Temple-bar, for the ſaid pur- " poſe; but if the diſcoverer himſelf be one of the " actors, he ſhall have fifty pounds, without letting " his name be known, or receiving the leaſt trouble " by proſecution." This advertiſement was, on the 2d of *January* following purſued by another: *viz.*

" Whereas there has been printed of late an ad- " vertiſement about the diſcovery of thoſe who aſ- " ſaulted Mr. Dryden, with promiſe of pardon and " reward to the diſcoverer: for his farther encourage- " ment, this is to give notice, that if the ſaid diſco- " verer ſhall make known the perſon, who incited " him to that unlawful action; not only the diſcove- " rer himſelf, but any of thoſe who committed the " fact, ſhall be freed from all manner of proſecution." Notwithſtanding theſe repeated advertiſements, both the contrivers and perpetrators of this illicit attack remained always a ſecret; but both Rocheſter and the before mentioned Ducheſs were ſhrewdly ſuſpected to be at the bottom of it.

His comedy called Limberham, or the Kind Keeper, was acted thrice in 1680: but was thought rather too particular than too looſe; the age not being ſo ſqueamiſh as to diſlike it on the latter account only. Limberham was applied by the people to the Earl of Lauderdale, who was neither the youngeſt nor the moſt virtuous of men; and this was the true reaſon of its being diſcontinued: Dryden liked the play himſelf. He alſo, about this time, publiſhed a tranſlation of Ovid's Epiſtles into Engliſh verſe, two of which and the preface were of his own

compoſition: His Spaniſh Friar, or the Double Diſcovery, was the product of the following year. This is an admirable tragi-comedy; the ſerious part of which is beautifully tender and intereſting; and the comic abounds with infinity of wit and humour, yet he ſomewhere profeſſes a diſlike to it. But that which eſtabliſhed his reputation upon the moſt ſolid baſis was the poem of Abſalom and Achitophel, in which he characteriſed the court of King Charles the Second, in the moſt lively terms; and what added to the force of his ſatire or panegyric, was, through the whole, his firm adherence to truth. It went through ſeveral editions; and complimentary poems were poured in upon the editor, addreſſed to the unknown author, ſome of them ſigned by the greateſt wits of the times.

The character of Zimri, in this celebrated ſatire, was, without a key, univerſally given to the profligate duke of Buckingham, for whom it was meant. Our author, when firſt attacked by his grace, had given him no offence, but that of poſſeſſing a genius ſuperior, a genius that like the ſun among the ſtars, ſhone out with a ſplendor that eclipſed entirely the mob of wits which marked the reign of Charles the Second. The firſt edition of the Medal or Satire againſt Sedition, was alſo publiſhed about this time. It is a ſevere ſatire upon the Whigs. His Religio Laici, many tenets of which claſh with thoſe of the Hind and Panther, was the product of the following year.

In 1683 a play called the Duke of Guiſe, written by our author and Nat. Lee in conjunction, was acted by his majeſty's ſervants, not without being ſtrongly oppoſed by the Whigs, who found a likeneſs in many parts of it between the Dukes of Monmouth and Guiſe. The firſt ſcene of the fourth act, in which Guiſe appears as returned to Paris againſt the king's poſitive command, which exactly correſponded with a ſimilar action of Monmouth's, afforded room for

the remark, (but we are told in the Vindication, &c.) that it was written twenty years before; ſo that, unleſs Dryden had been endued with a ſpirit of prophecy, he could not have meant it as a reflection upon that unfortunate prince.

A pamphlet was written againſt this tragedy by one Thomas Hunt, entituled, A Defence of the Charter and municipal Rights of the City of London, &c. which the ſaid Hunt ſuppoſes herein condemned, and the magiſtrates already hung in effigy. I have alſo before me a virulent attack upon it, in three ſheets, 4to. called, Some Reflections on the pretended Parallel in the Play of the Duke of Guiſe, in the compoſing of which Shadwell was ſuppoſed to have been concerned.

To all theſe, the Vindication of the Duke of Guiſe, which is generally printed after it, was publiſhed by way of anſwer. Here we are told that the Duke of Guiſe was our author's firſt piece, written ſoon after the Reſtoration, as the faireſt way which the act of indemnity left of expoſing the riſe of the grand rebellion, or inter-regnum. It did not then appear, becauſe condemned by a few friends in private, as unfit for the ſtage. It was again taken in hand, in compliance with the deſire of Nat. Lee, with whom Dryden had promiſed to join in a ſecond dramatic venture, in conſequence of the ſucceſs of Oedipus. Mr. Lee wrote two thirds of it, and our author the reſt: *viz.* the firſt ſcene of the firſt act, the whole fourth act, and half, or rather more, of the fifth.

In the year 1684, he publiſhed Maimbourg's Hiſtory of the League, tranſlated from the French, by the king's eſpecial deſire, on account of the plain parallel ſubſiſting between the troubles of France and England. His next piece was Threnodia Auguſtalis, a poem, ſacred to the memory of the king. It appeared in the year 1685, as did an opera of his, entituled, Albion and Albanius, acted at the Queen's

Theatre in Dorset-garden; the subject is wholly allegorical: the man on the pedestal, with a lean pale face, and serpents sucking poison from his sides, is supposed to be intended for Shaftesbury corrupting the principles of his followers.

James the Second, on his accession, having imprudently enough caused to be published two papers, said to be found in the strong box of the late king, and one left by the duchess of York, both being a sort of Vindication of some tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, they were answered by the very ingenious Dr. Stillingfleet: to whom our author, now a professed papist, made a reply which he calls, *A Defence of the Papers written by the late King, of blessed Memory, and duchess of York, against the Answer made to them.* This pamphlet contains 126 pages, besides the title and preface, and came out in 1686. BY COMMAND. The Hind and Panther, with which our second volume begins, appeared in 1687; the birth of a prince in 1688 occasioned a poem on that head; and his translation of the Life of St. Francis Xavier, from the French of Bouhors, came out also this year.

He had been about this time employed in translating Varilla's History of Heresies, but laid the design aside; and this Dr. Burnet tells us he was induced to do, because he (the Dr.) had published reflexions on the work, that quite destroyed the credit of the author. He was dismissed from the office of poet-laureat at the revolution, and its being conferred on Tom Shadwell, was a more sensible mortification to him than his dismission: this gave rise to his beautiful satire of Mac Flecnoe, the first edition of which bears date 1689. His pension was generously continued to him by the munificent Earl of Dorset, who was lord-chamberlain to King William, out of his own private purse; and grateful mention is made of our author's obligations to that elegant nobleman in the dedication of the Satires of Juvenal and Persius.

The tragedy of Don Sebaſtian was exhibited at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, anno 1690; but being inſupportably long, was curtailed even after the firſt night's performance. The dedication of this performance to Sydney, Earl of Leiceſter, is a remarkably fine piece of writing.

Amphytrion, or, the Two Socias, a comedy, founded on Plautus and Moliere, was preſented the ſame year; as was alſo the dramatic opera of King Arthur, or, the Britiſh Worthy: and both were received with very high applauſe.

In 1692, he gave his excellent tragedy of Cleomenes to the ſtage, and dedicated the copy of it to Laurence, Earl of Rocheſter, ſecond ſon to the great Earl of Clarendon. The tranſlation of Juvenal, in which he had a conſiderable ſhare: and that of Perſius, which was entirely his own, were firſt publiſhed in 1693. In the dedication, which is a long and beautiful diſcourſe to the Earl of Dorſet, he lays down a plan, according to which he intended to have erected an epic poem, and which Sir Richard Blackmore carried into execution in his poem of King Arthur. Dryden expreſſes the utmoſt contempt both for the piece and the man. His laſt dramatic piece is a tragicomedy, called Love-Triumphant, or, Nature will prevail, which is dedicated to James, earl of Saliſbury, and was preſented in 1694.

In 1695 our author publiſhed a tranſlation into proſe of Du Freſnoy's celebrated Latin Poem on the Art of Painting; to which he has prefixed a long preface, in which there is a parallel of poetry and painting. At this time he was engaged in tranſlating all Virgil's works: they did not make their appearance till 1697; and though greatly admired, paſſed not without being ſeverely cenſured. "But none, (ſays Pope) "criticiſed upon them ſo fairly as Milbourne; who at "the ſame time that he abuſed his tranſlation, did "Mr. Dryden the juſtice to print his own, which was "intolerable."

The last capital work which he executed, was his Fables, collected from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer, for which old Jacob Tonson gave him down 250 guineas; and there being something very singular in the instrument that passed between the bard and the bookseller on this account, we have transcribed it from the original now in Mr. Tonson's hands, as a piece both entertaining and curious.

" I Do hereby promise to pay John Dryden, Esq;
" or order, on the 25th of March, 1699, the sum
" of two hundred and fifty guineas, in consideration
" of ten thousand verses, which the said John Dry-
" den, Esq; is to deliver to me Jacob Tonson, when
" finished, whereof seven thousand five hundred verses
" more or less, are already in the said Jacob Ton-
" son's possession. And I do hereby farther promise
" and engage myself to make up the said sum of two
" hundred and fifty guineas, three hundred pounds
" sterling to the said John Dryden, Esq; his execu-
" tors, administrators, or assigns, at the beginning of
" the second impression of the said ten thousand
" verses.

" In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand
" and seal this twentieth day of March $169\frac{8}{9}$.

" JACOB TONSON.

Sealed and delivered, being first stampt, pursuant to the acts of parliament for that purpose, in the presence of

BEN. PORTLOCK.
WILL. CONGREVE.

March 24th. 1698.

" REceived then of Mr. Jacob Tonſon, the ſum " of two hundred ſixty-eight pounds fifteen " ſhillings, in purſuance of an agreement for ten " thouſand verſes, to be delivered by me to the ſaid " Jacob Tonſon, whereof I have already delivered to " him about ſeven thouſand five hundred, more or " leſs; he the ſaid Jacob Tonſon being obliged to " make up the foreſayd ſum of 268*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* three " hundred pounds, at the beginning of the ſecond " impreſſion of the foreſayd ten thouſand verſes.

" I ſay received by me

" JOHN DRYDEN.

Witneſs, CHARLES DRYDEN.

250 Guineas at 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* - - is - - 268*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*

This was a very conſiderable price for poetry in thoſe days; and, together with the bookſeller's ſpecifying barely the number of lines, without reſtricting them either to ſubject or reviſe, ſhew that our author's reputation was in very high eſteem.

To complete the number of lines, he inſerted the epiſtle to his couſin John Dryden of Cheſterton, for which that gentleman made him a preſent of 500*l.* and his ode for St. Cecilia's day, entituled Alexander's Feaſt, which is unanimouſly allowed to be the moſt finiſhed poetical performance in our, or perhaps, in any other modern language. Mr. W. Moyle, who wrote the eſſays, uſed to ſay, " That it was compoſed " for the Cicilian concert, and that our author " for the uſe of it received 40*l.*" This volume was introduced into the world with a poetical addreſs to the dutcheſs of Ormond, who rewarded the poet with a bill of 500 *l.* as I have been credibly informed by one of his collateral deſcendants.

In a manuſcript letter to Jacob Tonſon, now under my eye, our author ſpeaks thus of his Alexander's Feaſt: " I am glad to hear from all hands, that my

"ode is esteemed the best of all my poetry, by all "the town: I thought so myself when I writ it; but "being old, I distrusted my own judgment. I hope "it has done you service, and will do you more."

Besides what we have here enumerated, our author published a vast variety of other poems both translations and originals, all which will be found in this edition of his works. He also wrote in prose a preface to Walsh's dialogue concerning women, and the Lives of Plutarch and Lucian, prefixed to the translation of their respective works by several hands; and also that of Polybius, before a translation of that historian by Sir Harry Sheers. The same gentleman published a Tacitus, the first book of which was done by our author; and other things were passed upon the world for his which really belonged to one John Davies, a writer of those days, who encouraged the mistake, in which to be sure he found his advantage, by printing in the title-page only the initial letters of his name, which might be equally applied to Dryden and Davies.

Our author married the lady Elizabeth Howard, a daughter of the earl of Berkshire, and sister to Sir Robert Howard, the honorable colonel Philip Howard, and to Edward Howard Esq; author of the British Princes. She survived him several years; and by her he left three sons; Charles, who was drowned swimming across the Thames at Windsor, in his twenty-eighth year; John, who wrote a play called the Husband his own Cuckold, and who died in the pope's household, being one of his guard; Henry Erasmus, who was in priest's orders, and lived to inherit the family title.

There was something superstitious in Dryden's character; for he calculated the nativity of his son Charles, who was his favorite; and found that he should be in danger of death every seventh year. The event verified the prediction. He had three very narrow escapes at the æras foretold; the fourth accident was fatal.

This great poet died of a mortification in his foot, at his houſe in Gerrard's ſtreet, Soho, on the firſt of May, 1701, aged ſeventy: and when he firſt felt the pain, pronounced it to be the ſtroke of death. Dr. Sprat biſhop of Rocheſter requeſted that his lady would order the body to be interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, and he would remit the fees for opening the ground, &c. which came to upwards of forty pounds. Lord Hallifax alſo undertook the expence of his funeral, and ordered a velvet hearſe with eighteen mourning coaches to attend for that purpoſe.

The proceſſion was now beginning to move forward, when Lord Jeffries, ſon to the *famous* chancellor, chancing to paſs by with ſome revelling companions, ſwore that ſo great a poet ſhould not be thus privately buried; but that he would undertake it in a manner much more ſplendid, and more worthy of ſuch a celebrated character. He even intruded with this declaration upon the privacy of lady Elizabeth; but ſhe rejected the offer, and actually ſwooned at his extraordinary procedure. He then went down ſtairs; and, pretending that her ladyſhip had conſented, ordered the body to one Ruſſel's, an undertaker in Cheapſide, where it lay for ſome time, without his taking any further notice of it; and when ſolicited about it, he pleaded ignorance and a drunken frolic. Thus the body lay above-ground near three weeks; when, with her ladyſhip's leave, Dr. Garth had it removed to the College of Phyſicians, where a ſubſcription being made to defray the burial-expences, the Dr. pronounced a fine Latin oration in praiſe of the deceaſed. His remains were then conveyed to the abbey, with a long train of coaches, and interred in a confuſed diſorderly manner: for the biſhop, diſguſted at the affront put upon him, as he ſuppoſed, by my lady before, when he attended with the choir, the abbey being lighted up, declined aſſiſting; and it has been confidently aſſerted, that ſo little was decorum attended to, a Weſtminſter ſcholar ſung an ode of Horace over the grave.

Mr. Charles Dryden challenged the lord who had deported himself thus meanly; but he, to avoid worse consequences, left town thereupon, and afterwards the kingdom. The Earl of Hallifax, influenced by the same reason that prevented Dr. Sprat from attending the funeral, no longer thought of laying out five hundred pounds, as he had at first intended, in a monument to the memory of our poet; but Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, at length set up his bust in the Abbey with this inscription:

J. DRYDEN

Natus Aug. 9. 1631.

Mortuus Maii 1. 1701.

Johannes Sheffield Dux Buckinghamiensis fecit.

He took the hint of so doing from this line, relating to Dryden, in Pope's epitaph on Rowe.

Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies.

And his grace originally intended for the monumental inscription, these two lines:

This Sheffield rais'd: the sacred dust below
Was DRYDEN *once*; *the rest who does not know.*

Tom Brown, in a pamphlet, entituled, "The late "Converts exposed, or, the Reasons of Mr. Bayes' "changing his Religion," insinuates, that Dryden sollicited to be ordained in the Protestant church, but was refused; and that he also miscarried in attempting to be appointed to the provostship of Eton-College, near Windsor. Langbaine also bears testimony to this; but I dare say the reputation of these witnesses will have but little weight with the judicious reader, who cannot but see that this great man's enemies spared no opportunities of striving to make him ridiculous; and if truth failed, they seldom scrupled having recourse to invention. Envy is a vice peculiar to little minds, and falsity its best support.

In his perſonal character Dryden was perfectly amiable; he was modeſt even to diffidence; in friendſhip and generoſity he was exceeded by none: no man had ſtronger feelings for the diſtreſſes of human nature, or greater propenſity to alleviate them; and to this noble turn of mind, the difficulties which he had to ſtruggle with in life, and of which we often find him complaining, were probably moſtly owing. His temper was mild, open, unſuſpecting, and forgiving. He was very eaſy of acceſs, and perfectly pleaſing in his carriage. As his knowledge was great, and his memory ſtrongly retentive; ſo were his deſires of communicating inſtruction, to ſuch young writers as thought fit to conſult him, extenſive; yet in his manner there was ſomething ſo peculiarly agreeable that it doubled the obligation. He was himſelf always open to a conviction of error, and thankful for the remonſtrance.

Among the many enemies who attacked his morals, biſhop Burnet calls him a monſter of *impurities of all ſorts*; in anſwer to which lord Lanſdown aſſures us, "That he was the very reverſe of all this, and that "all his acquaintance could vouch his being a man "of regular life and unſpotted converſation." No body will be doubtful whether to ſide with the peer ſpiritual or temporal, who remembers the diſpute between the former and our author, which we have diſcuſſed in our notes.

He has been accuſed as a time-ſerver and an hypocrite in religion, becauſe it was his fortune at a particular ſeaſon to conform to one partroniſed at court; but this charge muſt fall to the ground on recollecting that he always continued therein firm and unſhaken, though he might have gained conſiderably by recanting after the revolution, and his writings on that head carry with them the ſtrongeſt marks of ſincerity. Perhaps before he declared himſelf a Roman Catholic, he had no ſettled form of religion; and his

Religio

Religio Laici is not a defence of any particular sect of Christianity, so much as of Christianity in general.

What a prodigious field for admiration opens upon us in contemplating our author as a poet! Here, in whatever light we view him, he is sure always to excel; and if universality of genius gives a title to pre-eminence, perhaps we shall be scarcely excused for admitting any to rank above him. In elegy he was plaintive and tender; in panegyric he had the art of throwing a lustre round a character that sunk all its imperfections. In satire he was strong, bold, penetrating, and severe; in didactic or controversial writing, concise, clear, and persuasive. His epistles are familiar, easy, and entertaining. His prologues and epilogues abound with wit, pleasantry, and often excellent traces of criticism. In his songs the thoughts appear new; the phraseology unconstrained; and the conclusions pointed. His odes are strong, forceful, soaring, and sublime; the numbers are happily varied, the harmony is inimitable, and the whole seem to breathe the spirit of inspiration.

Lastly, in his dramatic writings, which are many, there is a great variety; his characters are often finely marked, and the passions well wrought up; yet he deals more in the sublime than the pathos; and his tragedies are rather written from the head than the heart. In comedy, however, he is facetious and full of humour. Father Dominic is one of the best characters on our stage. In this species of writing, he certainly failed most: but his failings are easily pardoned when we consider, that he wrote his plays in a hurry; that he was for some time obliged to furnish the stage with a certain number yearly; and that he never had leisure sufficient to polish and correct up to the standard of his genius. It was not his fortune at any time to be able to use the

Nonum prematur in annum.

Yet his imperfections, like spots in the sun, can never diminish his lustre; and had he never written more

than All for Love, or the Spaniſh Friar, theſe would have been ſufficient to ſecure him an elevated place among dramatic writers.

In proſe he was equally excellent, his words were always happily choſen, his periods round and flowing, his meaning clear, his arguments ſupported with maſterly elocution, and his concluſions well deduced. In his prefaces, indeed, we find him ſometimes a deſerter, and oppoſing his own arguments in a manner to which Dryden only was equal; he has appeared unanſwerable till he anſwered himſelf. Here he confeſſes that he was much obliged to archbiſhop Tillotſon, who was, he ſays, the original from whom he copied. Impartiality will allow then that he often outgoes his maſter, and that none of our writers excel him.

His proſe never deviates into blank verſe; and diſjoint his verſe as you will, it is impoſſible to reduce it to proſe. "Its eſſence, (ſays Congreve, in the dedication of his dramatic works to his grace the Duke of Newcaſtle) "like that "of pure gold cannot be deſtroyed." And Garth, in his preface to the Metamorphoſes, juſtly remarks, "that when he ſteals from others" (for he has been accuſed of plagiariſm) "it is no otherwiſe than like "thoſe who ſteal beggars children only to cloath "them the better."

In a word, his fancy was always vigorous, his imagination fertile, his ſentiments are ſpirited, his language is elegant, and his verſification ſmooth and graceful; he was copious in invention; in tranſlation he gives the ſpirit of his author. To the laſt he maintained all his excellencies, and loſt nothing of his ſtrength. Mr. Pope beautifully obſerves, "That his fire like the ſun's ſhone cleareſt towards "its ſetting:" nay, the ſame great poet aſſures us, "He never would have attempted to tranſlate Homer "had Dryden completed that work."

VERSES

In PRAISE of

Mr. DRYDEN.

On Mr. DRYDEN's RELIGIO LAICI.

By the Earl of ROSCOMMON.

BE gone, you ſlaves, you idle vermin go,
Fly from the ſcourges, and your maſter know;
Let free, impartial, men from Dryden learn
Myſterious ſecrets, of a high concern,
And weighty truths, ſolid convincing ſenſe,
Explain'd by unaffected eloquence.
What can you (Reverend Levi) here take ill?
Men ſtill had faults, and men will have them ſtill;
He that hath none, and lives as angels do,
Muſt be an angel; but what's that to you?
While mighty Lewis find the pope too great,
And dreads the yoke of his impoſing ſeat,
Our ſects a more tyrannic pow'r aſſume,
And would for ſcorpions change the rods of Rome;
That church detain'd the legacy divine;
Fanatics caſt the pearls of heav'n to ſwine:

What then have thinking honeſt men to do,
But chuſe a mean between th'uſurping two?
Nor can th'Ægyptian patriarch blame thy muſe,
Which for his firmneſs does his heat excuſe;
Whatever councils have approv'd his creed,
The preface ſure was his own act and deed.
Our church will have that preface read you'll ſay:
'Tis true: but ſo ſhe will th' Apocrypha;
And ſuch as can believe them, freely may.
But did that God (ſo little underſtood)
Whoſe darling attribute is being good,
From the dark womb of the rude chaos bring
Such various creatures and make man their king,
Yet leave his favourite man, his chiefeſt care,
More wretched than the vileſt inſects are?
O! how much happier and more ſafe are they?
If helpleſs millions muſt be doom'd a prey
To yelling furies, and for ever burn
In that ſad place from whence is no return,
For unbelief in one they never knew,
Or for not doing what they could not do!
The very fiends know for what crime they fell,
And ſo do all their followers that rebel:
If then a blind, well-meaning, Indian ſtray,
Shall the great gulph be ſhew'd him for the way?
For better ends our kind Redeemer dy'd,
Or the faln angels room will be but ill ſupply'd.
That Chriſt, who at the great deciding day,
(For he declares what he reſolves to ſay)

Will damn the goats for their ill-natur'd faults;
And ſave the ſheep for actions, not for thoughts,
Hath too much mercy to ſend men to hell,
For humble charity, and hoping well.
To what ſtupidity are zealots grown,
Whoſe inhumanity, profuſely ſhown
In damning crowds of ſouls, may damn their own.
I'll err at leaſt on the ſecurer ſide,
A convert free from malice and from pride.

To my Friend Mr. JOHN DRYDEN, on his ſeveral excellent Tranſlations of the ancient Poets.

By G. GRANVILLE, Lord LANSDOWNE.

AS flow'rs, tranſplanted from a ſouthern ſky,
But hardly bear, or in the raiſing die;
Miſſing their native ſun, at beſt retain
But a faint odour, and ſurvive with pain:
Thus ancient wit, in modern numbers taught,
Wanting the warmth with which its author wrote,
Is a dead image, and a ſenſeleſs draught.
While we transfuſe, the nimble ſpirit flies,
Eſcapes unſeen, evaporates, and dies.
Who then to copy Roman wit deſire,
Muſt imitate with Roman force and fire,

In elegance of ſtyle and phraſe the ſame,
And in the ſparkling genius, and the flame.
Whence we conclude from thy tranſlated ſong,
So juſt, ſo ſmooth, ſo ſoft, and yet ſo ſtrong,
Cœleſtial poet! ſoul of harmony!
That ev'ry genius was reviv'd in thee.
Thy trumpet ſounds, the dead are rais'd to light,
Never to die, and take to heav'n their flight;
Deck'd in thy verſe, as clad with rays they ſhine,
All glorified, immortal, and divine.
As Britain in rich ſoil abounding wide,
Furniſh'd for uſe, for luxury, and pride,
Yet ſpreads her wanton ſails on ev'ry ſhore
For foreign wealth, inſatiate ſtill of more;
To her own wool the ſilks of Aſia joins,
And to her plenteous harveſts India's mines;
So Dryden, not contented with the fame
Of his own works, tho' an immortal name,
To lands remote ſends forth his learned muſe,
The nobleſt ſeeds of foreign wit to chooſe:
Feaſting our ſenſe ſo many various ways,
Say, is't thy bounty, or thy thirſt of praiſe?
That by comparing others, all might ſee,
Who moſt excel, are yet excell'd by thee.

To Mr. DRYDEN, by Jo. ADDISON, Eſq;

HOW long, great poet, ſhall thy ſacred lays
Provoke our wonder, and tranſcend our praiſe!
Can neither injuries of time, or age,
Damp thy poetick heat, and quench thy rage?
Not ſo thy Ovid in his exile wrote;
Grief chill'd his breaſt, and check'd his riſing thought;
Penſive and ſad, his drooping muſe betrays
The Roman genius in its laſt decays.
Prevailing warmth has ſtill thy mind poſſeſt,
And ſecond youth is kindled in thy breaſt.
Thou mak'ſt the beauties of the Romans known,
And England boaſts of riches not her own:
Thy lines have heighten'd Virgil's majeſty,
And Horace wonders at himſelf in thee.
Thou teacheſt Perſius to inform our iſle
In ſmoother numbers, and a clearer ſtyle:
And Juvenal, inſtructed in thy page,
Edges his ſatire, and improves his rage.
Thy copy caſts a fairer light on all,
And ſtill outſhines the bright original.
Now Ovid boaſts th' advantage of thy ſong,
And tells his ſtory in the Britiſh tongue;
Thy charming verſe, and fair tranſlations ſhow
How thy own laurel firſt began to grow;
How wild Lycaon, chang'd by angry Gods,
And frighted at himſelf, ran howling thro' the woods.

VERSES *in Praise of Mr.* DRYDEN.

O may'ſt thou ſtill the noble tale prolong,
Nor age, nor ſickneſs interrupt thy ſong:
Then may we wond'ring read, how human limbs
Have water'd kingdoms, and diſſolv'd in ſtreams,
Of thoſe rich fruits that on the fertile mould
Turn'd yellow by degrees, and ripen'd into gold:
How ſome in feathers, or a ragged hide,
Have liv'd a ſecond life, and different natures try'd.
Then will thy Ovid, thus transform'd, reveal
A nobler change than he himſelf can tell.

Mag. Coll. Oxon.
June 2, 1693.

From Mr. ADDISON's Account of the ENGLISH POETS.

BUT ſee where artful Dryden next appears,
Grown old in rhyme, but charming ev'n in years.
Great Dryden next! whoſe tuneful muſe affords
The ſweeteſt numbers and the fitteſt words.
Whether in comic ſounds, or tragick airs
She forms her voice, ſhe moves our ſmiles and tears.
If ſatire or heroic ſtrains ſhe writes,
Her hero pleaſes, and her ſatire bites.
From her no harſh, unartful numbers fall,
She wears all dreſſes, and ſhe charms in all:
How might we fear our Engliſh poetry,
That long has flouriſh'd, ſhould decay in thee;

VERSES *in Praiſe of Mr.* DRYDEN.

Did not the muſes other hope appear,
Harmonious Congreve, and forbid our fear!
Congreve! whoſe fancy's unexhauſted ſtore
Has given already much, and promis'd more.
Congreve ſhall ſtill preſerve thy fame alive,
And Dryden's muſe ſhall in his friend ſurvive.

On ALEXANDER's FEAST: Or, The Power of Musick. An ODE.

From Mr. POPE's ESSAY on CRITICISM, l. 376.

HEAR how Timotheus' vary'd lays ſurprize,
And bid alternate paſſions fall and riſe!
While, at each change, the ſon of Libyan Jove
Now burns with glory, and then melts with love;
Now his fierce eyes with ſparkling fury glow,
Now ſighs ſteal out, and tears begin to flow.
Perſians and Greeks like turns of nature found,
And the world's victor ſtood ſubdu'd by ſound.
The pow'r of Muſick all our hearts allow,
And what Timotheus was is Dryden now.

CHARACTER of DRYDEN,

From an ODE of GRAY's.

BEhold, where Dryden's leſs preſumptuous car,
Wide o'er the fields of glory bear:
Two courſers of ethereal race,
With necks in thunder cloath'd, and long-reſounding pace.
Hark, his hands the lyre explore!
Bright-ey'd Fancy hov'ring o'er,
Scatters from her pictur'd urn,
Thoughts that breathe, and words that burn.
But, ah! 'tis heard no more---
Oh! lyre divine, what daring ſpirit
Wakes thee now? though he inherit
Nor the pride, nor ample pinion,
That the Theban eagle bear,
Sailing with ſupreme dominion
Through the azure deep of air:
Yet oft before his infant eyes would run
Such forms, as glitter in the muſe's ray
With orient hues, unborrow'd of the ſun:
Yet ſhall he mount, and keep his diſtant way
Beyond the limits of a vulgar fate
Beneath the good how far---but far above the great.

THE

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Upon the DEATH of

LORD HASTINGS.

MUST noble Haſtings immaturely die,
The honour of his ancient family,
Beauty and learning thus together meet,
To bring a winding for a wedding-ſheet?
Muſt virtue prove death's harbinger? muſt ſhe,
With him expiring, feel mortality?
Is death, ſin's wages, grace's now? ſhall art
Make us more learned, only to depart?

If merit be diſeaſe ; if virtue death ;
To be good, not to be ; who'd then bequeath
Himſelf to diſcipline ? who'd not eſteem
Labour a crime ? ſtudy ſelf-murther deem ?
Our noble youth now have pretence to be
Dunces ſecurely, ignorant healthfully.
Rare linguiſt whoſe worth ſpeaks itſelf, whoſe praiſe,
Tho not his own, all tongues beſides do raiſe :
Than whom great Alexander may ſeem leſs ;
Who conquer'd men, but not their languages.
In his mouth nations ſpake ; his tongue might be
Interpreter to Greece, France, Italy.
His native ſoil was the four parts o'th'earth ;
All Europe was too narrow for his birth.
A young apoſtle ; and with rev'rence may
I ſpeak it inſpir'd with gift of tongues, as they.
Nature gave him a child, what men in vain
Oft ſtrive, by art though further'd, to obtain.
His body was an orb, his ſublime ſoul
Did move on virtue's, and on learning's pole :
Whoſe reg'lar motions better to our view,
Than Archimedes' ſphere, the heavens did ſhew.
Graces and virtues, languages and arts,
Beauty and learning, fill'd up all the parts.

Heav'n's gifts, which do like falling ſtars appear
Scatter'd in others; all, as in their ſphere,
Were fix'd, conglobate in his ſoul; and thence
Shone thro his body, with ſweet influence;
Letting their glories ſo on each limb fall,
The whole frame render'd was celeſtial.
Come, learned Ptolemy, and tryal make,
If thou this hero's altitude can'ſt take:
But that tranſcends thy ſkill; thrice happy all,
Could we but prove thus aſtronomical.
Liv'd Tycho now, ſtruck with this ray which ſhone
More bright i'th' morn', than others beam at noon,
He'd take his aſtrolabe, and ſeek out here
What new ſtar 'twas did gild our hemiſphere.
Repleniſh'd then with ſuch rare gifts as theſe,
Where was room left for ſuch a foul diſeaſe?
The nation's ſin hath drawn that veil, which ſhrouds
Our day-ſpring in ſo ſad benighting clouds,
Heaven would no longer truſt its pledge; but thus
Recall'd it; rapt its Ganymede from us.
Was there no milder way but the ſmall-pox,
The very filthineſs of Pandora's box?
So many ſpots, like næves on Venus' ſoil,
One jewel ſet off with ſo many a foil;

Bliſters with pride ſwell'd, which through's fleſh did ſprout
Like roſe-buds, ſtuck i'th' lilly-ſkin about.
Each little pimple had a tear in it,
To wail the fault its riſing did commit:
Which, rebel-like, with it's own lord at ſtrife,
Thus made an inſurrection 'gainſt his life.
Or were theſe gems ſent to adorn his ſkin,
The cab'net of a richer ſoul within?
No comet need foretel his change drew on,
Whoſe corps might ſeem a conſtellation.
O! had he dy'd of old, how great a ſtrife
Had been, who from his death ſhould draw their life?
Who ſhould, by one rich draught, become whate'er
Seneca, Cato, Numa, Cæſar, were?
Learn'd, virtuous, pious, great; and have by this
An univerſal metempſychoſis.
Muſt all theſe aged ſires in one funeral
Expire? all die in one ſo young, ſo ſmall?
Who, had he liv'd his life out, his great fame
Had ſwol'n 'bove any Greek or Roman name.
But haſty winter, with one blaſt, hath brought
The hopes of autumn, ſummer, ſpring, to nought.

Thus fades the oak i'th' ſprig, i'th' blade the corn;
Thus without young, this Phœnix dies, new-born.
Muſt then old three-legg'd grey-beards with their gout,
Catarrhs, rheums, aches, live three ages out?
Time's offals, only fit for th' hoſpital!
Or to hang antiquaries rooms withal!
Muſt drunkards, lechers, ſpent with ſinning, live
With ſuch helps as broths, poſſets, phyſic give?
None live, but ſuch as ſhould die? ſhall we meet
With none but ghoſtly fathers in the ſtreet?
Grief makes me rail; ſorrow will force its way;
And ſhow'rs of tears tempeſtuous ſighs beſt lay.
The tongue may fail; but overflowing eyes
Will weep out laſting ſtreams of elegies.
But thou, O virgin-widow, left alone,
Now thy beloved, heaven-raviſh'd ſpouſe is gone,
Whoſe ſkilful fire in vain ſtrove to apply
Med'cines, when thy balm was no remedy,
With greater than platonic love, O wed
His ſoul, tho not his body, to thy bed:
Let that make thee a mother; bring thou forth
Th' ideas of his virtue, knowledge, worth;
Tranſcribe th' original in new copies; give
Haſtings o'th' better part: ſo ſhall he live

In's nobler half; and the great grandfire be
Of an heroic divine progeny:
An iſſue, which t'eternity ſhall laſt,
Yet but th'irradiations which he caſt.
Erect no mauſoleums: for his beſt
Monument is his ſpouſe's marble breaſt.

HEROIC STANZAS

On the DEATH of

OLIVER CROMWELL,

Written after his FUNERAL.

I.

AND now 'tis time; for their officious haſte,
Who would before have borne him to the ſky,
Like eager Romans, ere all rites were paſt,
Did let too ſoon the ſacred eagle fly.

II.

Tho our beſt notes are treaſon to his fame,
Join'd with the loud applauſe of public voice;
Since heaven, what praiſe we offer to his name,
Hath render'd too authentic by its choice.

III.

Tho in his praiſe no arts can liberal be,
Since they, whoſe muſes have the higheſt flown,
Add not to his immortal memory,
But do an act of friendſhip to their own:

IV.

Yet 'tis our duty, and our intereſt too,
Such monuments as we can build to raiſe;
Leſt all the world prevent what we ſhould do,
And claim a title in him by their praiſe.

V.

How ſhall I then begin, or where conclude,
To draw a fame ſo truly circular?
For in a round what order can be ſhew'd,
Where all the parts ſo equal perfect are?

VI.

His grandeur he deriv'd from heav'n alone;
For he was great ere fortune made him ſo:
And wars, like miſts that riſe againſt the ſun,
Made him but greater ſeem, not greater grow.

VII.

No borrow'd bays his temples did adorn,
But to our crown he did freſh jewels bring;
Nor was his virtue poiſon'd ſoon as born,
With the too early thoughts of being king.

VIII.

Fortune, that eaſy miſtreſs to the young,
But to her ancient ſervants coy and hard,
Him at that age her favourites rank'd among,
When ſhe her beſt-lov'd Pompey did diſcard.

IX.

He private mark'd the fault of others ſway.
And ſet as ſea-marks for himſelf to ſhun:
Not like raſh monarchs, who their youth betray
By acts their age too late would wiſh undone.

X.

And yet dominion was not his deſign;
We owe that bleſſing, not to him, but heav'n,
Which to fair acts unſought rewards did join;
Rewards, that leſs to him than us were given.

XI.

Our former chiefs, like ſticklers of the war,
Firſt ſought t'inflame the parties, then to poiſe:
The quarrel lov'd, but did the cauſe abhor;
And did not ſtrike to hurt, but make a noiſe.

XII.

War, our conſumption, was their gainful trade:
We inward bled, whilſt they prolong'd our pain;
He fought to end our fighting, and eſſay'd
To ſtaunch the blood by breathing of the vein.

XIII.

Swift and reſiſtleſs through the land he paſt,
Like that bold Greek who did the Eaſt ſubdue,
And made to battles ſuch heroic haſte,
As if on wings of victory he flew.

XIV.

He fought ſecure of fortune as of fame:
Still by new maps, the iſland might be ſhewn,
Of conqueſts, which he ſtrew'd where-e'er he came,
Thick as the galaxy with ſtars is ſown.

XV.

His palms, tho under weights they did not ſtand,
Still thriv'd; no winter could his laurels fade:
Heav'n in his portrait ſhew'd a workman's hand,
And drew it perfect, yet without a ſhade.

XVI.

Peace was the prize of all his toil and care,
Which war had baniſh'd, and did now reſtore:
Bologna's walls thus mounted in the air,
To ſeat themſelves more ſurely than before.

XVII.

Her ſafety reſcu'd Ireland to him owes;
And treacherous Scotland to no intereſt true,
Yet bleſt that fate which did his arms diſpoſe
Her land to civilize, as to ſubdue.

XVIII.

Nor was he like thoſe ſtars which only ſhine,
When to pale mariners they ſtorms portend:
He had his calmer influence, and his mien
Did love and majeſty together blend.

XIX.

'Tis true, his count'nance did imprint an awe;
And naturally all ſouls to his did bow,
As wands of divination downward draw,
And point to beds where ſov'reign gold doth grow.

XX.

When paſt all off'rings to Feretrian Jove,
He Mars depos'd, and arms to gowns made yield;
Succeſsful councils did him ſoon approve
As fit for cloſe intrigues, as open field.

XXI.

To ſuppliant Holland he vouchſaf'd a peace,
Our once bold rival of the Britiſh main,
Now tamely glad her unjuſt claim to ceaſe,
And buy our friendſhip with her idol, gain.

XXII.

Fame of th'aſſerted ſea through Europe blown,
Made France and Spain ambitious of his love;
Each knew that ſide muſt conquer he would own;
And for him fiercely, as for empire, ſtrove.

XXIII.

No ſooner was the Frenchman's cauſe embrac'd,
Than the light Monſieur the grave Don outweigh'd:
His fortune turn'd the ſcale where'er 'twas caſt;
Tho Indian mines were in the other laid.

XXIV.

When abſent, yet we conquer'd in his right:
For tho ſome meaner artiſt's ſkill were ſhown
In mingling colours, or in placing light;
Yet ſtill the fair deſignment was his own.

XXV.

For from all tempers he could ſervice draw;
The worth of each, with its alloy, he knew,
And, as the confident of nature, ſaw
How ſhe complexions did divide and brew.

XXVI.

Or he their ſingle virtues did ſurvey,
By intuition in his own large breaſt,
Where all the rich ideas of them lay,
That were the rule and meaſure to the reſt.

XXVII.

When ſuch heroic virtue heaven ſets out,
The ſtars, like commons, ſullenly obey;
Becauſe it drains them when it comes about,
And therefore is a tax they ſeldom pay.

XXVIII.

From this high ſpring our foreign conqueſts flow,
Which yet more glorious triumphs do portend;
Since their commencement to his arms they owe,
If ſprings as high as fountains may aſcend.

XXIX.

He made us free-men of the continent,
Whom nature did like captives treat before;
To nobler preys the Engliſh lion ſent,
And taught him firſt in Belgian walks to roar.

XXX.

That old unqueſtion'd pirate of the land,
Proud Rome with dread the fate of Dunkirk heard;
And trembling wiſh'd behind more Alps to ſtand,
Altho an Alexander were her guard.

XXXI.

By his command we boldly croſs'd the line,
And bravely fought where ſouthern ſtars ariſe;
We trac'd the far-fetch'd gold unto the mine,
And that which brib'd our fathers made our prize.

XXXII.

Such was our prince; yet own'd a ſoul above
The higheſt acts it could produce to ſhow:
Thus poor mechanic arts in public move,
Whilſt the deep ſecrets beyond practice go.

XXXIII.

Nor dy'd he when his ebbing fame went leſs,
But when freſh laurels courted him to live:
He ſeem'd but to prevent ſome new ſucceſs,
As if above what triumphs earth could give.

XXXIV.

His lateſt victories ſtill thickeſt came,
As, near the center, motion doth increaſe;
'Till he, preſs'd down by his own weighty name,
Did, like the veſtal, under ſpoils deceaſe.

XXXV.

But firſt the ocean as a tribute ſent
The giant prince of all her watry herd;
And th'iſle, when her protecting genius went,
Upon his obſequies loud ſighs conferr'd.

XXXVI.

No civil broils have ſince his death aroſe,
But faction now by habit does obey;
And wars have that reſpect for his repoſe,
As winds for halcyons, when they breed at ſea.

XXXVII.

His aſhes in a peaceful urn ſhall reſt,
His name a great example ſtands, to ſhow
How ſtrangely high endeavours may be bleſt,
Where piety and valour jointly go.

ASTRÆA REDUX.

A POEM on the happy RESTORATION and RETURN of His Sacred Majeſty CHARLES the Second, 1660.

Jam redit & virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna. VIRG.

The laſt great age foretold by ſacred rhimes
Renews it's finiſh'd courſe; Saturnian times
Roll round again.

NOW with a general peace the world was bleſt,
While our's, a world divided from the reſt,
A dreadful quiet felt, and worſer far
Than arms, a ſullen interval of war:
Thus when black clouds draw down the lab'ring ſkies,
Ere yet abroad the winged thunder flies,
An horrid ſtillneſs firſt invades the ear,
And in that ſilence we the tempeſt fear.
Th'ambitious Swede, like reſtleſs billows toſt,
On this hand gaining what on that he loſt,
Though in his life he blood and ruin breath'd,
To his now guideleſs kingdom peace bequeath'd.

And

And heaven, that ſeem'd regardleſs of our fate,
For France and Spain did miracles create;
Such mortal quarrels to compoſe in peace
As nature bred, and intereſt did increaſe.
We ſigh'd to hear the fair Iberian bride
Muſt grow a lily to the lily's ſide,
While our croſs ſtars deny'd us Charles' bed,
Whom our firſt flames and virgin love did wed.
For his long abſence church and ſtate did groan;
Madneſs the pulpit, faction ſeiz'd the throne:
Experienc'd age in deep deſpair was loſt,
To ſee the rebel thrive, the loyal croſt:
Youth that with joys had unacquainted been,
Envy'd gray hairs that once good days had ſeen:
We thought our ſires, not with their own content,
Had ere we came to age our portion ſpent.
Nor could our nobles hope their bold attempt
Who ruin'd crowns would coronets exempt:
For when by their deſigning leaders taught
To ſtrike at pow'r which for themſelves they ſought,
The vulgar, gull'd into rebellion, arm'd;
Their blood to action by the prize was warm'd.
The ſacred purple then and ſcarlet gown,
Like ſanguine dye, to elephants was ſhewn.

Thus when the bold Typhoeus ſcal'd the ſky,
And forc'd great Jove from his own heav'n to fly,
(What king, what crown from treaſon's reach is free,
If Jove and Heav'n can violated be?)
The leſſer gods, that ſhar'd his proſperous ſtate,
All ſuffer'd in the exil'd Thunderer's fate.
The rabble now ſuch freedom did enjoy,
As winds at ſea, that uſe it to deſtroy:
Blind as the Cyclop, and as wild as he,
They own'd a lawleſs ſavage liberty,
Like that our painted anceſtors ſo priz'd,
Ere empire's arts their breaſts had civiliz'd.
How great were then our Charles' woes, who thus
Was forc'd to ſuffer for himſelf and us!
He, toſs'd by fate, and hurry'd up and down,
Heir to his father's ſorrows, with his crown,
Could taſte no ſweets of youth's deſired age;
But found his life too true a pilgrimage.
Unconquer'd yet in that forlorn eſtate,
His manly courage overcame his fate.
His wounds he took, like Romans, on his breaſt,
Which by his virtue were with laurels dreſt.
As ſouls reach heav'n while yet in bodies pent,
So did he live above his baniſhment.

That ſun, which we beheld with cozen'd eyes
Within the water, mov'd along the ſkies.
How eaſy 'tis, when deſtiny proves kind,
With full-ſpread ſails to run before the wind!
But thoſe that 'gainſt ſtiff gales laveering go,
Muſt be at once reſolv'd and ſkilful too.
He would not, like ſoft Otho, hope prevent,
But ſtay'd and ſuffer'd fortune to repent.
Theſe virtues Galba in a ſtranger ſought,
And Piſo to adopted empire brought.
How ſhall I then my doubtful thoughts expreſs,
That muſt his ſufferings both regret and bleſs?
For when his early valour Heav'n had croſt;
And all at Worc'ſter but the honour loſt;
Forc'd into exile from his rightful throne,
He made all countries where he came his own;
And viewing monarchs' ſecret arts of ſway,
A royal factor for his kingdoms lay.
Thus baniſh'd David ſpent abroad his time,
When to be God's anointed was his crime;
And when reſtor'd, made his proud neighbours rue
Thoſe choice remarks he from his travels drew.
Nor is he only by afflictions ſhown
To conquer others realms, but rule his own:

Recovering hardly what he loſt before,
His right endears it much; his purchaſe more.
Inur'd to ſuffer ere he came to reign,
No raſh procedure will his actions ſtain:
To buſineſs ripen'd by digeſtive thought,
His future rule is into method brought:
As they, who firſt proportion underſtand,
With eaſy practice reach a maſter's hand.
Well might the ancient poets then confer
On night the honour'd name of Counſeller,
Since ſtruck with rays of proſperous fortune blind,
We light alone in dark afflictions find.
In ſuch adverſities to ſcepters train'd,
The name of Great his famous grandſire gain'd:
Who yet a king alone in name and right,
With hunger, cold, and angry Jove did fight;
Shock'd by a cov'nanting league's vaſt pow'rs,
As holy and as catholic as our's:
Till fortune's fruitleſs ſpite had made it known,
Her blows not ſhook but riveted his throne.

Some lazy ages, loſt in ſleep and eaſe,
No action leave to buſy chronicles:
Such, whoſe ſupine felicity but makes
In ſtory chaſms, in epocha miſtakes;

O'er whom Time gently ſhakes his wings of down,
'Till with his ſilent ſickle they are mown.
Such is not Charles' too too active age,
Which, govern'd by the wild diſtemper'd rage
Of ſome black ſtar infecting all the skies,
Made him at his own coſt like Adam wiſe.
Tremble ye nations, which ſecure before,
Laugh'd at thoſe arms that 'gainſt our ſelves we bore;
Rouz'd by the laſh of his own ſtubborn tail,
Our lion now will foreign foes aſſail.
With alga who the ſacred altar ſtrews?
To all the ſea gods Charles an off'ring owes:
A bull to thee, Portunus, ſhall be ſlain,
A lamb to you, ye tempeſts of the main:
For thoſe loud ſtorms that did againſt him roar,
Have caſt his ſhipwreck'd veſſel on the ſhore.
Yet as wiſe artiſts mix their colours ſo,
That by degrees they from each other go;
Black ſteals unheeded from the neighb'ring white,
Without offending the well-cozen'd ſight:
So on us ſtole our bleſſed change; while we
Th' effect did feel, but ſcarce the manner ſee.
Froſts that conſtrain the ground, and birth deny
To flow'rs that in its womb expecting lie,

Do ſeldom their uſurping pow'r withdraw,
But raging floods purſue their haſty thaw.
Our thaw was mild, the cold not chas'd away,
But loſt in kindly heat of lengthned day.
Heaven would no bargain for its bleſſings drive,
But what we could not pay for, freely give.
The Prince of peace would like himſelf confer
A gift unhop'd, without the price of war:
Yet, as he knew his bleſſing's worth, took care,
That we ſhould know it by repeated pray'r;
Which ſtorm'd the skies, and raviſh'd Charles from thence,
As heav'n itſelf is took by violence.
Booth's forward valour only ſerv'd to ſhow,
He durſt that duty pay we all did owe:
Th' attempt was fair; but heav'n's prefixed hour
Not come: ſo like the watchful traveller
That by the moon's miſtaken light did riſe,
Lay down again, and clos'd his weary eyes.
'Twas Monk, whom Providence deſign'd to looſe
Thoſe real bonds falſe freedom did impoſe.
The bleſſed ſaints, that watch'd this turning ſcene,
Did from their ſtars with joyful wonder lean,
To ſee ſmall clues draw vaſteſt weights along,
Not in their bulk but in their order ſtrong.

Thus pencils can by one ſlight touch reſtore
Smiles to that changed face that wept before.
With eaſe ſuch fond chimaeras we purſue,
As fancy frames for fancy to ſubdue:
But when ourſelves to action we betake,
It ſhuns the mint like gold that chemiſts make.
How hard was then his taſk! at once to be
What in the body natural we ſee?
Man's architect diſtinctly did ordain
The charge of muſcles, nerves, and of the brain,
Through viewleſs conduits ſpirits to diſpenſe;
The ſprings of motion from the ſeat of ſenſe.
'Twas not the haſty product of a day,
But the well-ripen'd fruit of wiſe delay.
He, like a patient angler, ere he ſtrook,
Would let him play a while upon the hook.
Our healthful food the ſtomach labours thus,
At firſt embracing what it ſtraight doth cruſh.
Wiſe leaches will not vain receipts obtrude,
While growing pains pronounce the humours crude:
Deaf to complaints they wait upon the ill,
'Till ſome ſafe criſis authorize their ſkill.

Nor could his acts too close a vizard wear,
To 'scape their eyes whom guilt had taught to fear,
And guard with caution that polluted nest,
Whence legion twice before was dispossest:
Once sacred house; which when they enter'd in,
They thought the place could sanctify a sin;
Like those that vainly hop'd kind heav'n would wink,
While to excess on martyrs tombs they drink.
And as devouter Turks first warn their souls
To part, before they taste forbidden bowls:
So these, when their black crimes they went about,
First timely charm'd their useless conscience out.
Religion's name against itself was made;
The shadow serv'd the substance to invade:
Like zealous missions, they did care pretend
Of souls in shew, but made the gold their end.
Th' incensed pow'rs beheld with scorn from high
An heaven so far distant from the sky,
Which durst, with horses hoofs that beat the ground,
And martial brass, bely the thunder's sound.
'Twas hence at length just vengeance thought it fit
To speed their ruin by their impious wit.
Thus Sforza, curs'd with a too fertile brain,
Lost by his wiles the pow'r his wit did gain.

Henceforth their fougue muſt ſpend at leſſer rate,
Than in its flames to wrap a nation's fate.
Suffer'd to live, they are like Helots ſet,
A virtuous ſhame within us to beget.
For by example moſt we ſinn'd before,
And glaſs-like clearneſs mix'd with frailty bore.
But ſince reform'd by what we did amiſs,
We by our ſuff'rings learn to prize our bliſs:
Like early lovers, whoſe unpractis'd hearts
Were long the may-game of malicious arts,
When once they find their Jealouſies were vain,
With double heat renew their fires again.
'Twas this produc'd the joy that hurry'd o'er
Such ſwarms of Engliſh to the neighb'ring ſhore,
To fetch that prize, by which Batavia made
So rich amends for our impoveriſh'd trade.
Oh had you ſeen from Schevelin's barren ſhore,
(Crowded with troops, and barren now no more,)
Afflicted Holland to his farewell bring
True ſorrow, Holland to regret a king!
While waiting him his royal fleet did ride,
And willing winds to their lower'd ſails deny'd.
The wav'ring ſtreamers, flags, and ſtandards out,
The merry ſeamen's rude but chearful ſhout;

And laſt the cannons voice that ſhook the ſkies,
And, as it fares in ſudden ecſtaſies,
At once bereft us both of ears and eyes.
The Naſeby, now no longer England's ſhame,
But better to be loſt in Charles' name,
(Like ſome unequal bride in nobler ſheets)
Receives her lord: the joyful London meets
The princely York, himſelf alone a freight;
The Swift-ſure groans beneath great Gloſter's weight:
Secure as when the halcyon breeds, with theſe,
He that was born to drown might croſs the ſeas.
Heav'n could not own a Providence, and take
The wealth three nations ventur'd at a ſtake.
The ſame indulgence Charles his voyage bleſs'd,
Which in his right had miracles confeſs'd.
The winds that never moderation knew,
Afraid to blow too much, too faintly blew;
Or out of breath with joy, could not enlarge
Their ſtraightned lungs, or conſcious of their charge.
The Britiſh Amphytrite, ſmooth and clear,
In richer azure never did appear;
Proud her returning prince to entertain
With the ſubmitted faſces of the main.

AND

AND welcome now, great monarch, to your own;
Behold th' approaching clifts of Albion:
It is no longer motion cheats your view,
As you meet it, the land approacheth you.
The land returns, and, in the white it wears,
The marks of penitence and ſorrow bears.
But you, whoſe goodneſs your deſcent doth ſhew,
Your heav'nly parentage and earthly too;
By that ſame mildneſs, which your father's crown
Before did raviſh, ſhall ſecure your own.
Not tied to rules of policy, you find
Revenge leſs ſweet than a forgiving mind.
Thus, when th' almighty would to Moſes give
A ſight of all he could behold and live;
A voice before his entry did proclaim
Long-ſuffering, goodneſs, mercy, in his name.
Your pow'r to juſtice doth ſubmit your cauſe,
Your goodneſs only is above the laws;
Whoſe rigid letter, while pronounc'd by you,
Is ſofter made. So winds that tempeſts brew,
When through Arabian groves they take their flight,
Made wanton with rich odours, loſe their ſpite.

And as thoſe lees, that trouble it, refine
The agitated ſoul of generous wine:
So tears of joy, for your returning, ſpilt;
Work out, and expiate our former guilt.
Methinks I ſee thoſe crouds on Dover's ſtrand,
Who, in their haſte to welcome you to land,
Chok'd up the beach with their ſtill growing ſtore,
And made a wilder torrent on the ſhore:
While, ſpurr'd with eager thoughts of paſt delight,
Thoſe, who had ſeen you, court a ſecond ſight;
Preventing ſtill your ſteps, and making haſte
To meet you often whereſoe'er you paſt.
How ſhall I ſpeak of that triumphant day,
When you renew'd th' expiring pomp of May!
(A month that owns an intereſt in your name:
You and the flow'rs are its peculiar claim.)
That ſtar that at your birth ſhone out ſo bright,
It ſtain'd the duller ſun's meridian light,
Did once again its potent fires renew,
Guiding our eyes to find and worſhip you.
And now Time's whiter ſeries is begun,
Which in ſoft centuries ſhall ſmoothly run:

Thoſe clouds, that overcaſt your morn, ſhall fly,
Diſpell'd to fartheſt corners of the ſky.
Our nation with united intereſt bleſt,
Not now content to poize, ſhall ſway the reſt.
Abroad your empire ſhall no limits know,
But, like the ſea, in boundleſs circles flow.
Your much-lov'd fleet ſhall, with a wide command,
Beſiege the petty monarchs of the land:
And as old Time his offspring ſwallow'd down,
Our ocean in its depths all ſeas ſhall drown.
Their wealthy trade from pirate's rapine free,
Our merchants ſhall no more adventurers be:
Nor in the fartheſt eaſt thoſe dangers fear,
Which humble Holland muſt diſſemble here.
Spain to your gift alone her Indies owes;
For what the pow'rful takes not he beſtows:
And France, that did an exile's preſence fear,
May juſtly apprehend you ſtill too near.
At home the hateful names of parties ceaſe,
And factious ſouls are wearied into peace.
The diſcontented now are only they,
Whoſe crimes before did your juſt cauſe betray:
Of thoſe your edicts ſome reclaim from ſin,
But moſt your life and bleſt example win.

Oh happy prince, whom heav'n hath taught the way
By paying vows to have more vows to pay!
Oh happy age! Oh times like thoſe alone,
By fate reſerv'd for great Aguſtus' throne!
When the joint growth of arms and arts foreſhew
The world a monarch, and that monarch you.

To His SACRED MAJESTY.

A

PANEGYRIC

ON HIS

CORONATION.

IN that wild deluge where the world was drown'd,
When life and ſin one common tomb had found,
The firſt ſmall proſpect of a riſing hill
With various notes of joy the ark did fill:
Yet when that flood in its own depths was drown'd,
It left behind it falſe and ſlipp'ry ground;
And the more ſolemn pomp was ſtill deferr'd,
'Till new-born nature in freſh looks appear'd.
Thus, royal ſir, to ſee you landed here,
Was cauſe enough of triumph for a year:
Nor would your care thoſe glorious joys repeat,
'Till they at once might be ſecure and great:
'Till your kind beams, by their continu'd ſtay,
Had warm'd the ground, and call'd the damps away.
Such vapours, while your pow'rful influence dries,
Then ſooneſt vaniſh when they higheſt riſe.

Had greater haſte theſe ſacred rites prepar'd,
Some guilty months had in your triumphs ſhar'd:
But this untainted year is all your own;
Your glories may without our crimes be ſhown.
We had not yet exhauſted all our ſtore,
When you refreſh'd our joys by adding more:
As heaven, of old, diſpens'd celeſtial dew,
You gave us manna, and ſtill give us new.

Now our ſad ruins are remov'd from ſight,
The ſeaſon too comes fraught with new delight:
Time ſeems not now beneath his years to ſtoop,
Nor do his wings with ſickly feathers droop:
Soft weſtern winds waft o'er the gaudy ſpring,
And open'd ſcenes of flowers and bloſſoms bring,
To grace this happy day, while you appear,
Not king of us alone, but of the year.
All eyes you draw, and with the eyes the heart:
Of your own pomp your ſelf the greateſt part:
Loud ſhouts the nation's happineſs proclaim,
And heav'n this day is feaſted with your name.
Your cavalcade the fair ſpectators view,
From their high ſtandings, yet look up to you.
From your brave train each ſingles out a prey,
And longs to date a conqueſt from your day.

Now

Now charg'd with bleſſings while you ſeek repoſe,
Officious ſlumbers haſte your eyes to cloſe;
And glorious dreams ſtand ready to reſtore
The pleaſing ſhapes of all you ſaw before.
Next to the ſacred temple you are led,
Where waits a crown for your more ſacred head:
How juſtly from the church that crown is due,
Preſerv'd from ruin, and reſtor'd by you!
The grateful choir their harmony employ,
Not to make greater, but more ſolemn joy.
Wrapt ſoft and warm your name is ſent on high,
As flames do on the wings of incenſe fly:
Muſic herſelf is loſt, in vain ſhe brings
Her choiceſt notes to praiſe the beſt of kings:
Her melting ſtrains in you a tomb have found,
And lie like bees in their own ſweetneſs drown'd.
He that brought peace, all diſcord could atone,
His name is muſic of itſelf alone.
Now while the ſacred oil anoints your head,
And fragrant ſcents, begun from you, are ſpread
Through the large dome; the people's joyful ſound,
Sent back, is ſtill preſerv'd in hallow'd ground;
Which in one bleſſing mix'd deſcends on you;
As heightned ſpirits fall in richer dew.

Not that our wiſhes do increaſe your ſtore,
Full of your ſelf you can admit no more:
We add not to your glory, but employ
Our time, like angels, in expreſſing joy.
Nor is it duty, or our hopes alone,
Create that joy, but full fruition:
We know thoſe bleſſings, which we muſt poſſeſs,
And judge of future by paſt happineſs.
No promiſe can oblige a prince ſo much
Still to be good, as long to have been ſuch.
A noble emulation heats your breaſt,
And your own fame now robs you of your reſt.
Good actions ſtill muſt be maintain'd with good,
As bodies nouriſh'd with reſembling food.
You have already quench'd ſedition's brand;
And zeal, which burnt it, only warms the land.
The jealous ſects, that dare not truſt their cauſe
So far from their own will as to the laws,
You for their umpire and their ſynod take,
And their appeal alone to Cæſar make.
Kind heav'n ſo rare a temper did provide,
That guilt repenting might in it confide.
Among our crimes oblivion may be ſet;
But 'tis our king's perfection to forget.

Virtues unknown to theſe rough northern climes
From milder heav'ns you bring without their crimes.
Your calmneſs does no after-ſtorms provide,
Nor ſeeming patience mortal anger hide.
When empire firſt from families did ſpring,
Then every father govern'd as a king:
But you, that are a ſovereign prince, allay
Imperial power with your paternal ſway.
From thoſe great cares when eaſe your ſoul unbends,
Your pleaſures are deſign'd to noble ends?
Born to command the miſtreſs of the ſeas,
Your thoughts themſelves in that blue empire pleaſe.
Hither in ſummer evenings you repair
To taſte the fraicheur of the purer air:
Undaunted here you ride, when winter raves,
With Cæſar's heart that roſe above the waves.
More I could ſing, but fear my numbers ſtays;
No loyal ſubject dares that courage praiſe.
In ſtately frigates moſt delight you find,
Where well-drawn battles fire your martial mind.
What to your cares we owe, is learnt from hence,
When even your pleaſures ſerve for our defence.
Beyond your court flows in th' admitted tide,
Where in new depths the wondering fiſhes glide:

Here in a royal bed the waters sleep;
When tir'd at sea, within this bay they creep.
Here the mistrustful fowl no harm suspects,
So safe are all things which our king protects.
From your lov'd Thames a blessing yet is due,
Second alone to that it brought in you;
A queen, near whose chaste womb, ordain'd by fate,
The souls of kings unborn for bodies wait.
It was your love before made discord cease:
Your love is destin'd to your country's peace.
Both Indies, rivals in your bed, provide
With gold or jewels to adorn your bride.
This to a mighty king presents rich ore,
While that with incense does a god implore.
Two kingdoms wait your doom, and, as you choose,
This must receive a crown, or that must lose.
Thus from your royal oak, like Jove's of old,
Are answers sought, and destinies foretold:
Propitious oracles are begg'd with vows,
And crowns that grow upon the sacred boughs.
Your subjects, while you weigh the nation's fate,
Suspend to both their doubtful love or hate:
Chuse only, sir, that so they may possess
With their own peace their children's happiness.

TO THE

LORD-CHANCELLOR HYDE.

Preſented on NEW-YEAR'S-DAY, 1662.

MY LORD,

WHILE flattering crouds officiouſly appear
To give themſelves, not you, an happy year;
And by the greatneſs of their preſents prove
How much they hope, but not how well they love;

The Muſes, who your early courtſhip boaſt,
Though now your flames are with their beauty loſt,
Yet watch their time, that, if you have forgot
They were your miſtreſſes, the world may not:
Decay'd by time and wars, they only prove
Their former beauty by your former love;
And now preſent, as ancient ladies do,
That courted long, at length are forc'd to woo.
For ſtill they look on you with ſuch kind eyes,
As thoſe that ſee the church's ſovereign riſe;
From their own order choſe, in whoſe high ſtate,
They think themſelves the ſecond choice of fate.
When our great monarch into exile went,
Wit and religion ſuffer'd baniſhment.
Thus once, when Troy was wrap'd in fire and ſmoke,
The helpleſs gods their burning ſhrines forſook;
They with the vanquiſh'd prince and party go,
And leave their temples empty to the foe.
At length the Muſes ſtand, reſtor'd again
To that great charge which nature did ordain;
And their lov'd Druids ſeem reviv'd by fate,
While you diſpenſe the laws, and guide the ſtate.
The nation's ſoul, our monarch, does diſpenſe,
Through you, to us his vital influence;

You are the channel, where thoſe ſpirits flow,
And work them higher, as to us they go.
In open proſpect nothing bounds our eye,
Until the earth ſeems join'd unto the ſky:
So in this hemiſphere our utmoſt view
Is only bounded by our king and you:
Our ſight is limited where you are join'd,
And beyond that no farther heav'n can find.
So well your virtues do with his agree,
That, though your orbs of diff'rent greatneſs be,
Yet both are for each other's uſe diſpos'd,
His to incloſe, and yours to be inclos'd.
Nor could another in your room have been,
Except an emptineſs had come between.
Well may he then to you his cares impart,
And ſhare his burden where he ſhares his heart.
In you his ſleep ſtill wakes; his pleaſures find
Their ſhare of bus'neſs in your laboring mind.
So when the weary ſun his place reſigns,
He leaves his light, and by reflection ſhines.
Juſtice, that ſits and frowns where public laws
Exclude ſoft mercy from a private cauſe,
In your tribunal moſt her ſelf does pleaſe;
There only ſmiles becauſes ſhe lives at eaſe;

And, like young David, finds her ſtrength the more,
When diſincumber'd from thoſe arms ſhe wore.
Heaven would our royal maſter ſhould exceed
Moſt in that virtue, which we moſt did need;
And his mild father (who too late did find
All mercy vain but what with pow'r was join'd)
His fatal goodneſs left to fitter times,
Not to increaſe, but to abſolve, our crimes:
But when the heir of this vaſt treaſure knew
How large a legacy was left to you,
(Too great for any ſubject to retain)
He wiſely ty'd it to the crown again:
Yet, paſſing through your hands, it gathers more,
As ſtreams, thro mines, bear tincture of their ore.
While emperic politicians uſe deceit,
Hide what they give, and cure but by a cheat;
You boldly ſhew that ſkill which they pretend,
And work by means as noble as your end:
Which ſhould you veil, we might unwind the clue,
As men do nature, till we came to you.
And as the Indies were not found, before
Thoſe rich perfumes, which, from the happy ſhore,
The winds upon their balmy wings convey'd,
Whoſe guilty ſweetneſs firſt their world betray'd;

So by your counſels we are brought to view
A rich and undiſcover'd world in you.
By you our monarch does that fame aſſure,
Which kings muſt have or cannot live ſecure:
For proſp'rous princes gain their ſubjects heart,
Who love that praiſe in which themſelves have part.
By you he fits thoſe ſubjects to obey,
As heaven's eternal monarch does convey
His pow'r unſeen, and man, to his deſigns
By his bright miniſters the ſtars, inclines.
Our ſetting ſun, from his declining ſeat,
Shot beams of kindneſs on you, not of heat:
And, when his love was bounded in a few,
That were unhappy that they might be true,
Made you the favorite of his laſt ſad times,
That is a ſuff'rer in his ſubjects crimes:
Thus thoſe firſt favours you receiv'd, were ſent,
Like heav'ns rewards in earthly puniſhment.
Yet fortune, conſcious of your deſtiny,
E'en then took care to lay you ſoftly by;
And wrap'd your fate among her precious things,
Kept freſh to be unfolded with your king's.
Shewn all at once you dazzled ſo our eyes,
As new-born Pallas did the gods ſurprize:

When, springing forth from Jove's new-closing wound,
She struck the warlike spear into the ground;
Which sprouting leaves did suddenly inclose,
And peaceful olives shaded as they rose.

How strangely active are the arts of peace,
Whose restless motions less than wars do cease!
Peace is not freed from labour but from noise;
And war more force, but not more pains employs:
Such is the mighty swiftness of your mind,
That, like the earth, it leaves our sense behind,
While you so smoothly turn and rowl our sphere,
That rapid motion does but rest appear.
For, as in nature's swiftness, with the throng
Of flying orbs while ours is born along,
All seems at rest to the deluded eye,
Mov'd by the soul of the same harmony,
So, carry'd on by your unwearied care,
We rest in peace, and yet in motion share.
Let envy then those crimes within you see,
From which the happy never must be free;
Envy, that does with misery reside,
The joy and the revenge of ruin'd pride.
Think it not hard, if at so cheap a rate
You can secure the constancy of fate,

Whoſe kindneſs ſent what does their malice ſeem,
By leſſer ills the greater to redeem.
Nor can we this weak ſhow'r a tempeſt call,
But drops of heat, that in the ſun-ſhine fall.
You have already weary'd fortune ſo,
She cannot farther be your friend or foe;
But ſits all breathleſs, and admires to feel
A fate ſo weighty, that it ſtops our wheel.
In all things elſe above our humble fate,
Your equal mind yet ſwells not into ſtate,
But, like ſome mountain in thoſe happy iſles,
Where in perpetual ſpring young nature ſmiles,
Your greatneſs ſhews: no horror to affright,
But trees for ſhade, and flowers to court the ſight:
Sometimes the hill ſubmits itſelf a while
In ſmall deſcents, which do its height beguile;
And ſometimes mounts, but ſo as billows play,
Whoſe riſe not hinders but makes ſhort our way.
Your brow, which does no fear of thunder know,
Sees rowling tempeſts vainly beat below;
And, like Olympus' top, the impreſſion wears
Of love and friendſhip writ in former years.
Yet, unimpair'd with labors, or with time,
Your age but ſeems to a new youth to climb.

Thus heav'nly bodies do our time beget,
And meaſure change, but ſhare no part of it.
And ſtill it ſhall without a weight increaſe,
Like this new-year, whoſe motions never ceaſe.
For ſince the glorious courſe you have begun
Is led by Charles, as that is by the ſun,
It muſt both weightleſs and immortal prove,
Becauſe the centre of it is above.

SATIRE ON THE DUTCH.

Written in the YEAR 1662.

AS needy gallants, in the ſcrivener's hands,
Court the rich knaves that gripe their mort-
gag'd lands;
The firſt fat buck of all the ſeaſon's ſent,
And keeper takes no fee in compliment;
The dotage of ſome Engliſhmen is ſuch,
To fawn on thoſe, who ruin them, the Dutch.
They ſhall have all, rather than make a war
With thoſe, who of the ſame religion are.

The Straits, the Guiney-trade, the herrings too;
Nay, to keep friendſhip, they ſhall pickle you.
Some are reſolv'd not to find out the cheat,
But, cuckold-like, love them that do the feat.
What injuries ſoe'er upon us fall,
Yet ſtill the ſame religion anſwers all.
Religion wheedled us to civil war,
Drew Engliſh blood, and Dutchmen's now wou'd ſpare.
Be gull'd no longer; for you'll find it true,
They have no more religion, faith! than you.
Intereſt's the god they worſhip in their ſtate,
And we, I take it, have not much of that.
Well monarchies may own religion's name,
But ſtates are atheiſts in their very frame.
They ſhare a ſin; and ſuch proportions fall,
That, like a ſtink, 'tis nothing to them all.
Think on their rapine, falſhood, cruelty,
And that what once they were, they ſtill wou'd be.
To one well-born th'affront is worſe and more,
When he's abus'd and baffl'd by a boor.
With an ill grace the Dutch their miſchiefs do;
They've both ill nature and ill manners too.
Well may they boaſt themſelves an ancient nation;
For they were bred ere manners were in faſhion:

And their new commonwealth has ſet them free
Only from honour and civility.
Venetians do not more uncouthly ride,
Than did their lubber ſtate mankind beſtride.
Their ſway became 'em with as ill a mien,
As their own paunches ſwell above their chin.
Yet is their empire no true growth but humour,
And only two kings touch can cure the tumour.
As Cato, fruits of Afric did diſplay;
Let us before our eyes their Indies lay:
All loyal Engliſh will like him conclude;
Let Cæſar live, and Carthage be ſubdu'd.

To Her ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE DUTCHESS,

ON THE

Memorable VICTORY gained by the DUKE over the HOLLANDERS, June the 3d, 1665.

AND ON

Her JOURNEY afterwards into the NORTH.

MADAM,

WHEN, for our ſakes, your hero you reſign'd
To ſwelling ſeas, and every faithleſs wind;
When you releas'd his courage, and ſet free
A valour fatal to the enemy;

You lodg'd your country's cares within your breaſt
(The manſion where ſoft love ſhould only reſt:)
And, ere our foes abroad were overcome,
The nobleſt conqueſt you had gain'd at home.
Ah, what concerns did both your ſouls divide!
Your honour gave us what your love deny'd:
And 'twas for him much eaſier to ſubdue
Thoſe foes he fought with, than to part from you.
That glorious day, which two ſuch navies ſaw,
As each unmatch'd might to the world give law.
Neptune, yet doubtful whom he ſhould obey,
Held to them both the trident of the ſea:
The winds were huſh'd, the waves in ranks were caſt,
As awfully as when God's people paſt:
Thoſe, yet uncertain on whoſe ſails to blow,
Theſe, where the wealth of nations ought to flow.
Then with the duke your highneſs rul'd the day:
While all the brave did his command obey,
The fair and pious under you did pray.
How powerful are chaſte vows! the wind and tide
You brib'd to combat on the Engliſh ſide.
Thus to your much-lov'd lord you did convey
An unknown ſuccour, ſent the neareſt way.

New

New vigour to his wearied arms you brought,
(So Moſes was upheld while Iſrael fought)
While, from afar, we heard the cannon play,
Like diſtant thunder on a ſhiny day.
For abſent friends we were aſham'd to fear,
When we conſider'd what you ventur'd there.
Ships, men, and arms, our country might reſtore,
But ſuch a leader could ſupply no more.
With generous thoughts of conqueſt he did burn,
Yet fought not more to vanquiſh than return.
Fortune and victory he did purſue,
To bring them as his ſlaves to wait on you.
Thus beauty raviſh'd the rewards of fame,
And the fair triumph'd when the brave o'ercame.
Then, as you meant to ſpread another way
By land your conqueſts, far as his by ſea,
Leaving our ſouthern clime, you march'd along
The ſtubborn North, ten thouſand Cupids ſtrong.
Like commons the nobility reſort,
In crowding heaps, to fill your moving court:
To welcome your approach the vulgar run,
Like ſome new envoy from the diſtant ſun,
And country beauties by their lovers go,
Bleſſing themſelves, and wondering at the ſhow.

So when the new-born Phœnix firſt is ſeen,
Her feather'd ſubjects all adore their queen,
And while ſhe makes her progreſs through the Eaſt,
From every grove her numerous train's increaſt:
Each Poet of the air her glory ſings,
And round him the pleas'd audience clap their wings.

ANNUS MIRABILIS:

THE

YEAR OF WONDERS,

1666.

AN HISTORICAL POEM.

TO THE

METROPOLIS of GREAT-BRITAIN,

The moſt RENOWNED and late FLOURISHING

CITY of LONDON,

In its REPRESENTATIVES

The LORD-MAYOR and Court of ALDERMEN, the SHERIFFS, and COMMON-COUNCIL of it.

AS perhaps I am the firſt who ever preſented a work of this nature to the metropolis of any nation; ſo it is likewiſe conſonant to juſtice, that he who was to give the firſt example of ſuch a dedication ſhould begin it with that city, which has ſet a pattern to all others of true loyalty, invincible courage, and unſhaken conſtancy. Other cities have been praiſed for the ſame virtues, but I am much deceived if any have ſo dearly purchaſed their reputation; their fame has been won them by cheaper trials than an expenſive, though neceſſary war, a conſuming peſtilence, and a more conſuming fire. To ſubmit yourſelves with

that humility to the judgments of heaven, and at the ſame time to raiſe yourſelves with that vigor above all human enemies; to be combated at once from above, and from below, to be ſtruck down and to triumph: I know not whether ſuch trials have been ever paralleled in any nation: the reſolution and ſucceſſes of them never can be. Never had prince or people more mutual reaſon to love each other, if ſuffering for each other can endear affection. You have come together a pair of matchleſs lovers, through many difficulties; he, through a long exile, various traverſes of fortune, and the interpoſition of many rivals, who violently raviſhed and with-held you from him: and certainly you have had your ſhare in ſufferings. But Providence has caſt upon you want of trade, that you might appear bountiful to your country's neceſſities; and the reſt of your afflictions are not more the effects of God's diſpleaſure (frequent examples of them having been in the reign of the moſt excellent princes) than occaſions for the manifeſting of your chriſtian and civil virtues. To you therefore this Year of Wonders is juſtly dedicated, becauſe you have made it ſo. You, who are to ſtand a won-

der to all years and ages; and, who have built yourſelves an immortal monument on your own ruins. You are now a Phœnix in her aſhes, and, as far as humanity can approach, a great emblem of the ſuffering Deity: but heaven never made ſo much piety and virtue to leave it miſerable. I have heard, indeed, of ſome virtuous perſons who have ended unfortunately, but never of any virtuous nation: Providence is engaged too deeply, when the cauſe becomes ſo general; and I cannot imagine it has reſolved the ruin of that people at home, which it has bleſſed abroad with ſuch ſucceſſes. I am therefore to conclude, that your ſufferings are at an end; and that one part of my poem has not been more an hiſtory of your deſtruction, than the other a prophecy of your reſtoration. The accompliſhment of which happineſs, as it is the wiſh of all true Engliſhmen, ſo is it by none more paſſionately deſired, than by,

The greateſt of your admirers,

And moſt humble of your ſervants,

JOHN DRYDEN.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENSUING POEM,

In a LETTER to the

Hon. Sir ROBERT HOWARD.

SIR,

I AM so many ways obliged to you, and so little able to return your favours, that, like those who owe too much, I can only live by getting farther into your debt. You have not only been careful of my fortune, which was the effect of your nobleness, but you have been solicitous of my reputation, which is that of your kindness. It is not long since I gave you the trouble of perusing a play for me, and now, instead of an acknowledgment, I have given you a greater, in the correction of a poem. But since you are to bear this persecution, I will at least give you the

encouragement of a martyr; you could never ſuffer in a nobler cauſe. For I have choſen the moſt heroic ſubject, which any poet could deſire: I have taken upon me to deſcribe the motives, the beginning, progreſs, and ſucceſſes, of a moſt juſt and neceſſary war; in it, the care, management, and prudence of our king; the conduct and valour of a royal admiral, and of two incomparable generals; the invincible courage of our captains and ſeamen; and three glorious victories, the reſult of all. After this, I have, in the Fire, the moſt deplorable, but withal the greateſt, argument that can be imagined: the deſtruction being ſo ſwift, ſo ſudden, ſo vaſt and miſerable, as nothing can parallel in ſtory. The former part of this poem, relating to the war, is but a due expiation for my not ſerving my king and country in it. All gentlemen are almoſt obliged to it: and I know no reaſon we ſhould give that advantage to the commonalty of England, to be foremoſt in brave actions, which the nobles of France would never ſuffer in their peaſants. I ſhould not have written this but to a perſon, who has been ever forward to appear in all employments, whither his honour and generoſity have

called him. The latter part of my poem, which describes the Fire, I owe, first to the piety and fatherly affection of our monarch to his suffering subjects; and, in the second place, to the courage, loyalty, and magnanimity of the city; both which were so conspicuous, that I have wanted words to celebrate them as they deserve. I have called my poem Historical, not Epic, though both the actions and actors are as much heroic as any poem can contain. But since the action is not properly one, nor that accomplished in the last successes, I have judged it too bold a title for a few stanzas, which are little more in number than a single Iliad, or the longest of the Æneids. For this reason (I mean not of length, but broken action, tied too severely to the laws of history) I am apt to agree with those, who rank Lucan, rather among historians in verse, than Epic poets: in whose room, if I am not deceived, Silius Italicus, though a worse writer, may more justly be admitted. I have chosen to write my poem in quatrains, or stanzas of four in alternate rhyme, because I have ever judged them more noble, and of greater dignity, both for the sound and number, than any other verse in use amongst us; in

which I am ſure I have your approbation. The learned languages have certainly a great advantage of us, in not being tied to the ſlavery of any rhyme; and were leſs conſtrained in the quantity of every ſyllable, which they might vary with ſpondees or dactyls, beſides ſo many other helps of grammatical figures, for the lengthening or abbreviation of them, than the modern are in the cloſe of that one ſyllable, which often confines, and more often corrupts, the ſenſe of all the reſt. But in this neceſſity of our rhymes, I have always found the couplet verſe moſt eaſy, though not ſo proper for this occaſion: for there the work is ſooner at an end, every two lines concluding the labour of the poet; but in quatrains he is to carry it farther on, and not only ſo, but to bear along in his head the troubleſome ſenſe of four lines together. For thoſe, who write correctly in this kind, muſt needs acknowlege, that the laſt line of the ſtanza is to be conſidered in the compoſition of the firſt. Neither can we give our ſelves the liberty of making any part of a verſe for the ſake of rhyme, or concluding with a word which is not current Engliſh, or uſing the variety of female rhymes; all which our fathers

practiſed: and for the female rhymes, they are ſtill in uſe amongſt other nations; with the Italian in every line, with the Spaniard promiſcuouſly, with the French alternately; as thoſe who have read the Alarique, the Pucelle, or any of their later poems, will agree with me. And beſides this, they write in Alexandrins, or verſes of ſix feet; ſuch as amongſt us is the old tranſlation of Homer by Chapman: all which, by lengthning of their chain, makes the ſphere of their activity the larger. I have dwelt too long upon the choice of my ſtanza, which you may remember is much better defended in the preface to Gondibert; and therefore I will haſten to acquaint you with my endeavours in the writing. In general I will only ſay, I have never yet ſeen the deſcription of any naval fight in the proper terms which are uſed at ſea: and if there be any ſuch, in another language, as that of Lucan in the third of his Pharſalia, yet I could not avail myſelf of it in the Engliſh; the terms of art in every tongue bearing more of the idiom of it than any other words. We hear indeed among our poets, of the thundering of guns, the ſmoke, the diſorder, and the ſlaughter; but all theſe are common

notions. And certainly, as thoſe, who, in a logical diſpute keep in general terms, would hide a fallacy; ſo thoſe, who do it in any poetical deſcription, would veil their ignorance.

Deſcriptas ſervare vices operumque colores,
Cur ego, ſi nequeo ignoroque, Poeta ſalutor?

For my own part, if I had little knowledge of the ſea, yet I have thought it no ſhame to learn: and if I have made ſome few miſtakes, 'tis only, as you can bear me witneſs, becauſe I have wanted opportunity to correct them; the whole poem being firſt written, and now ſent you from a place, where I have not ſo much as the converſe of any ſeaman. Yet though the trouble I had in writing it was great, it was more than recompenſed by the pleaſure. I found myſelf ſo warm in celebrating the praiſes of military men, two ſuch eſpecially as the prince and general, that it is no wonder if they inſpired me with thoughts above my ordinary level. And I am well ſatisfied, that, as they are incomparably the beſt ſubject I ever had, excepting only the royal family, ſo alſo, that this I have written of

them is much better than what I have performed on any other. I have been forced to help out other arguments; but this has been bountiful to me: they have been low and barren of praiſe, and I have exalted them, and made them fruitful; but here----*Omnia ſponte ſua reddit juſtiſſima tellus.* I have had a large, a fair, and a pleaſant field; ſo fertile, that without my cultivating, it has given me two harveſts in a ſummer, and in both oppreſſed the reaper. All other greatneſs in ſubjects is only counterfeit: it will not endure the teſt of danger; the greatneſs of arms is only real: other greatneſs burdens a nation with its weight; this ſupports it with its ſtrength. And as it is the happineſs of the age, ſo it is the peculiar goodneſs of the beſt of kings, that we may praiſe his ſubjects without offending him. Doubtleſs it proceeds from a juſt confidence of his own virtue, which the luſtre of no other can be ſo great as to darken in him; for the good or the valiant are never ſafely praiſed under a bad or a degenerate prince. But to return from this digreſſion to a farther account of my poem; I muſt crave leave to tell you, that as I have endeavoured to adorn it with noble thoughts, ſo

much more to expreſs thoſe thoughts with elocution. The compoſition of all poems is, or ought to be, of wit; and wit in the poet, or wit-writing (if you will give me leave to uſe a ſchool-diſtinction) is no other than the faculty of imagination in the writer, which, like a nimble ſpaniel, beats over and ranges through the field of memory, 'till it ſprings the quarry it hunted after: or, without metaphor, which ſearches over all the memory for the ſpecies or ideas of thoſe things which it deſigns to repreſent. Wit written is that which is well defined, the happy reſult of thought, or product of imagination. But to proceed from wit, in the general notion of it, to the proper wit of an heroic or hiſtorical poem; I judge it chiefly to conſiſt in the delightful imaging of perſons, actions, paſſions, or things. 'Tis not the jerk or ſting of an epigram, nor the ſeeming contradiction of a poor antitheſis (the delight of an ill-judging audience in a play of rhyme) nor the gingle of a more poor Paranomaſia; neither is it ſo much the morality of a grave ſentence, affected by Lucan, but more ſparingly uſed by Virgil; but it is ſome lively and apt deſcription, dreſſed in ſuch colours of ſpeech, that

it ſets before your eyes the abſent object, as perfectly, and more delightfully than nature. So then the firſt happineſs of the poet's imagination is properly invention or finding of the thought; the ſecond is fancy, or the variation, deriving or moulding of that thought as the judgment repreſents it proper to the ſubject; the third is elocution, or the art of cloathing and adorning that thought, ſo found and varied, in apt, ſignificant, and ſounding words: the quickneſs of the imagination is ſeen in the invention, the fertility in the fancy, and the accuracy in the expreſſion. For the two firſt of theſe, Ovid is famous amongſt the poets; for the latter, Virgil. Ovid images more often the movements and affections of the mind, either combating between two contrary paſſions, or extremely diſcompoſed by one. His words therefore are the leaſt part of his care; for he pictures nature in diſorder, with which the ſtudy and choice of words is inconſiſtent. This is the proper wit of dialogue or diſcourſe, and conſequently of the drama, where all that is ſaid is to be ſuppoſed the effect of ſudden thought; which, though it excludes not the quickneſs of wit in repartees, yet admits not a too curious election

election of words, too frequent allusions, or use of tropes, or in fine any thing that shews remoteness of thought or labour in the writer. On the other side, Virgil speaks not so often to us in the person of another, like Ovid, but in his own: he relates almost all things as from himself, and thereby gains more liberty than the other, to express his thoughts with all the graces of elocution, to write more figuratively, and to confess as well the labour as the force of his imagination. Though he describes his Dido well and naturally, in the violence of her passions, yet he must yield in that to the Myrrha, the Biblis, the Althaea, of Ovid; for as great an admirer of him as I am, I must acknowledge, that if I see not more of their souls than I see of Dido's, at least I have a greater concernment for them: and that convinces me, that Ovid has touched those tender strokes more delicately than Virgil could. But when action or persons are to be described, when any such image is to be set before us, how bold, how masterly are the strokes of Virgil! We see the objects he presents us with in their native figures, in their proper motions; but so

we ſee them, as our own eyes could never have beheld them ſo beautiful in themſelves. We ſee the ſoul of the poet, like that univerſal one of which he ſpeaks, informing and moving through all his pictures:

----Totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.

We behold him embelliſhing his images, as he makes Venus breathing beauty upon her ſon Æneas.

——— lumenque juventæ
Purpureum, & lætos oculis afflârat honores:
Quale manus addunt Ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
Argentum Pariuſve lapis circundatur auro.

See his Tempeſt, his Funeral Sports, his Combat of Turnus and Æneas: and in his Georgics, which I eſteem the divineſt part of all his writings, the Plague, the Country, the Battle of the Bulls, the Labour of the Bees, and thoſe many other excellent images of nature, moſt of which are neither great in themſelves, nor have any natural ornament to bear them up: but the words wherewith he deſcribes them are ſo excellent, that it

might be well applied to him, which was said by Ovid, *Materiam superabat opus:* the very sound of his words has often somewhat that is connatural to the subject; and while we read him, we sit, as in a play, beholding the scenes of what he represents. To perform this, he made frequent use of tropes, which you know change the nature of a known word, by applying it to some other signification; and this is it which Horace means in his epistle to the Piso's:

Dixeris egregiè, notum si callida verbum
Reddiderit junctura novum———

But I am sensible I have presumed too far to entertain you with a rude discourse of that art, which you both know so well, and put into practice with so much happiness. Yet before I leave Virgil, I must own the vanity to tell you, and by you the world, that he has been my master in this poem: I have followed him every where, I know not with what success, but I am sure with diligence enough: my images are many of them copied from him, and the rest are imitations of

him. My expreſſions alſo are as near as the idioms of the two languages would admit of in tranſlation. And this, ſir, I have done with that boldneſs, for which I will ſtand accountable to any of our little critics, who, perhaps, are no better acquainted with him than I am. Upon your firſt peruſal of this poem, you have taken notice of ſome words, which I have innovated (if it be too bold for me to ſay refined) upon his Latin; which, as I offer not to introduce into Engliſh proſe, ſo I hope they are neither improper, nor altogether inelegant in verſe; and, in this, Horace will again defend me.

Et nova, fictaque nuper, habebunt verba fidem, ſi Græco fonte cadunt, parcè detorta----.

The inference is exceeding plain: for if a Roman poet might have liberty to coin a word, ſuppoſing only that it was derived from the Greek, was put into a Latin termination, and that he uſed this liberty but ſeldom, and with modeſty; how much more juſtly may I challenge that privilege to do it with the ſame prerequiſites, from the beſt and moſt judicious of Latin writers? In

ſome places, where either the fancy or the words were his, or any other's, I have noted it in the margin, that I might not ſeem a plagiary; in others I have neglected it, to avoid as well tedioufneſs, as the affectation of doing it too often. Such deſcriptions or images well wrought, which I promiſe not for mine, are, as I have ſaid, the adequate delight of heroic poeſy; for they beget admiration, which is its proper object; as the images of the burleſque, which is contrary to this, by the ſame reaſon beget laughter: for the one ſhews nature beautified, as in the picture of a fair woman, which we all admire; the other ſhews her deformed, as in that of a lazar, or of a fool with diſtorted face and antique geſtures, at which we cannot forbear to laugh, becauſe it is a deviation from nature. But though the ſame images ſerve equally for the Epic poeſy, and for the hiſtoric and panegyric, which are branches of it, yet a ſeveral ſort of ſculpture is to be uſed in them. If ſome of them are to be like thoſe of Juvenal, *Stantes in curribus Æmiliani*, heroes drawn in their triumphal chariots, and in their full proportion; others are to be like that of Vir-

gil, *Spirantia mollius æra:* there is ſomewhat more of ſoftneſs and tenderneſs to be ſhewn in them. You will ſoon find I write not this without concern. Some, who have ſeen a paper of verſes, which I wrote laſt year to her Highneſs the Dutcheſs, have accuſed them of that only thing I could defend in them. They ſaid, I did *humi ſerpere*, that I wanted not only height of fancy, but dignity of words, to ſet it off. I might well anſwer with that of Horace, *Nunc non erat his locus*; I knew I addreſſed them to a lady, and accordingly I affected the ſoftneſs of expreſſion, and the ſmoothneſs of meaſure, rather than the height of thought; and in what I did endeavour, it is no vanity to ſay I have ſucceeded. I deteſt arrogance; but there is ſome difference betwixt that and a juſt defence. But I will not farther bribe your candor, or the reader's. I leave them to ſpeak for me; and, if they can, to make out that character, not pretending to a greater, which I have given them.

And now, ſir, 'tis time I ſhould relieve you from the tedious length of this account. You have better and more profitable employment for your hours, and I wrong the public to detain you

longer. In concluſion, I muſt leave my poem to you with all its faults, which I hope to find fewer in the printing by your emendations. I know you are not of the number of thoſe, of whom the younger Pliny ſpeaks; *Nec ſunt parum multi, qui carpere amicos ſuos judicium vocant:* I am rather too ſecure of you on that ſide. Your candor in pardoning my errors may make you more remiſs in correcting them; if you will not withal conſider that they come into the world with your approbation, and through your hands. I beg from you the greateſt favour you can confer upon an abſent perſon, ſince I repoſe upon your management what is deareſt to me, my fame and reputation; and therefore I hope it will ſtir you up to make my poem fairer by many of your blots; if not, you know the ſtory of the gameſter who married the rich man's daughter, and when her father denied the portion, chriſtened all the children by his ſirname, that if, in concluſion, they muſt beg, they ſhould do ſo by one name, as well as by the other. But ſince the reproach of my faults will light on you, tis but reaſon I ſhould do you that juſtice to the readers,

to let them know, that, if there be any thing tolerable in this poem, they owe the argument to your choice, the writing to your encouragement, the correction to your judgment, and the care of it to your friendſhip, to which he muſt ever acknowlege himſelf to owe all things, who is,

SIR,

The moſt obedient, and moſt

Faithful of your ſervants,

From Charlton in Wiltſhire,
Nov. 10, 1666.

JOHN DRYDEN.

ANNUS MIRABILIS:

THE

YEAR OF WONDERS,

1666.

I.

IN thriving arts long time had Holland grown,
Crouching at home and cruel when abroad:
Scarce leaving us the means to claim our own;
Our king they courted, and our merchants
aw'd.

2.

Trade, which like blood ſhould circularly flow,
Stopp'd in their channels, found its freedom loſt:
Thither the wealth of all the world did go,
And ſeem'd but ſhipwreck'd on ſo baſe a coaſt.

3.

For them alone the heavens had kindly heat;
In eaſtern quarries ripening precious dew:
For them the Idumæan balm did ſweat,
And in hot Ceilon ſpicy foreſts grew.

4.

The ſun but ſeem'd the laborer of the year;
Each waxing moon ſupply'd her watery ſtore,
To ſwell thoſe tide, which from the line did bear
Their brim-full veſſels to the Belgian ſhore.

5.

Thus, mighty in her ſhips, ſtood Carthage long,
And ſwept the riches of the world from far;
Yet ſtoop'd to Rome, leſs wealthy, but more ſtrong:
And this may prove our ſecond Punic war.

6.

What peace can be, where both to one pretend?
(But they more diligent, and we more ſtrong)
Or if a peace, it ſoon muſt have an end;
For they would grow too powerful were it long.

7.

Behold two nations then, engag'd so far,
That each seven years the fit must shake each land:
Where France will side to weaken us by war,
Who only can his vast designs withstand.

8.

See how he feeds th' Iberian with delays,
To render us his timely friendship vain:
And while his secret soul on Flanders preys,
He rocks the cradle of the babe of Spain.

9.

Such deep designs of empire does he lay
O'er them, whose cause he seems to take in hand;
And prudently would make them lords at sea,
To whom with ease he can give laws by land.

10.

This saw our king; and long within his breast
His pensive counsels balanc'd to and fro:
He griev'd the land he freed should be oppress'd,
And he less for it than usurpers do.

11.

His generous mind the fair ideas drew
Of fame and honour, which in dangers lay;
Where wealth, like fruit on precipices, grew,
Not to be gathered but by birds of prey.

12.

The loſs and gain each fatally were great;
And ſtill his ſubjects call'd aloud for war:
But peaceful kings, o'er martial people ſet,
Each other's poize and counterbalance are.

13.

He firſt ſurvey'd the charge with careful eyes,
Which none but mighty monarchs could maintain;
Yet judg'd, like vapours that from limbecs riſe,
It would in richer ſhowers deſcend again.

14.

At length reſolv'd t' aſſert the watery ball,
He in himſelf did whole Armadoes bring:
Him aged ſeamen might their maſter call,
And chuſe for general, were he not their king.

15.

It ſeems as every ſhip their ſovereign knows,
His awful ſummons they ſo ſoon obey;
So hear the ſcaly herd when Proteus blows,
And ſo to paſture follow through the ſea.

16.

To ſee this fleet upon the ocean move,
Angels drew wide the curtains of the ſkies;
And heaven, as if there wanted lights above,
For tapers made two glaring comets riſe.

17.

Whether they unctuous exhalations are,
Fir'd by the sun, or seeming so alone:
Or each some more remote and slippery star,
Which loses footing when to mortals shewn.

18.

Or one, that bright companion of the sun,
Whose glorious aspect seal'd our new-born king;
And now, a round of greater years begun,
New influence from his walks of light did bring.

19.

Victorious York did first with fam'd success,
To his known valour make the Dutch give place:
Thus heaven our monarch's fortune did confess,
Beginning conquest from his royal race.

20.

But since it was decreed, auspicious king,
In Britain's right that thou shouldst wed the main,
Heav'n, as a gage, would cast some precious thing,
And therefore doom'd that Lawson should be slain.

21.

Lawſon amongſt the foremoſt met his fate,
Whom ſea-green Sirens from the rocks lament:
Thus as an offering for the Grecian ſtate,
He firſt was kill'd who firſt to battle went.

22.

Their chief blown up in air, not waves, expir'd,
To which his pride preſum'd to give the law:
The Dutch confeſs'd heaven preſent, and retir'd,
And all was Britain the wide ocean ſaw.

23.

To neareſt ports their ſhatter'd ſhips repair,
Where by our dreadful cannon they lay aw'd:
So reverently men quit the open air,
Where thunder ſpeaks the angry gods abroad.

24.

And now approach'd their fleet from India fraught,
With all the riches of the riſing ſun:
And precious ſand from ſouthern climates brought,
The fatal regions where the war begun.

25.

Like hunted caſtors, conſcious of their ſtore,
Their way-laid wealth to Norway's coaſts they bring:
There firſt the North's cold boſom ſpices bore,
And winter brooded on the eaſtern ſpring.

26.

By the rich ſcent we found our perfum'd prey,
Which, flank'd with rocks, did cloſe in covert lie:
And round about their murdering cannon lay,
At once to threaten and invite the eye.

27.

Fiercer than cannon, and than rocks more hard,
The Engliſh undertake the unequal war:
Seven ſhips alone, by which the port is barr'd,
Beſiege the Indies, and all Denmark dare.

28.

Theſe fight like huſbands, but like lovers thoſe:
Theſe fain would keep, and thoſe more fain enjoy:
And to ſuch height their frantic paſſion grows,
That what both love, both hazard to deſtroy.

29.

Amidſt whole heaps of ſpices lights a ball,
And now their odours arm'd againſt them fly:
Some preciouſly by ſhatter'd porcelain fall,
And ſome by aromatic ſplinters die.

30.

And though by tempeſts of the prize bereft,
In heaven's inclemency ſome eaſe we find:
Our foes we vanquiſh'd by our valour left,
And only yielded to the ſeas and wind.

31.

Nor wholly loſt we ſo deſerv'd a prey;
For ſtorms repenting part of it reſtor'd:
Which as a tribute from the Baltic ſea,
The Britiſh ocean ſent her mighty lord.

32.

Go mortals now and vex yourſelves in vain
For wealth, which ſo uncertainly muſt come:
When what was brought ſo far, and with ſuch pain,
Was only kept to loſe it nearer home.

33.

The ſon, who twice three months on th'ocean toſt,
Prepar'd to tell what he had paſs'd before,
Now ſees in Engliſh ſhips the Holland coaſt,
And parents arms, in vain, ſtretch'd from the ſhore.

This

34.

This careful husband had been long away,
Whom his chaste wife and little children mourn;
Who on their fingers learn'd to tell the day
On which their father promis'd to return.

35.

Such are the proud designs of human-kind,
And so we suffer shipwreck every where!
Alas, what port can such a pilot find,
Who in the night of fate must blindly steer!

36.

The undistinguish'd seeds of good and ill,
Heaven in his bosom from our knowlege hides:
And draws them in contempt of human skill,
Which oft for friends mistaken foes provides.

37.

Let Munster's prelate ever be accurst,
In whom we seek the German faith in vain:
Alas, that he should teach the English first,
That fraud and avarice in the church could reign!

38.

Happy, who never trust a stranger's will,
Whose friendship's in his interest understood!
Since money given but tempts him to be ill,
When pow'r is too remote to make him good.

39.

Till now, alone the mighty nations ſtrove;
The reſt, at gaze, without the liſts did ſtand:
And threatning France, plac'd like a painted Jove,
Kept idle thunder in his lifted hand.

40.

That eunuch guardian of rich Holland's trade,
Who envies us what he wants pow'r t'enjoy;
Whoſe noiſeful valour does no foe invade,
And weak aſſiſtance will his friends deſtroy.

41.

Offended that we fought without his leave,
He takes this time his ſecret hate to ſhew:
Which Charles does with a mind ſo calm receive,
As one that neither ſeeks nor ſhuns his foe.

42.

With France, to aid the Dutch, the Danes unite:
France as their tyrant, Denmark as their ſlave.
But when with one three nations join to fight,
They ſilently confeſs that one more brave.

43.

Lewis had chas'd the Engliſh from his ſhore?
But Charles the French as ſubjects does invite:
Would heaven for each ſome Solomon reſtore,
Who, by their mercy, may decide their right.

44.

Were ſubjects ſo but only by their choice,
And not from birth did forc'd dominion take,
Our prince alone would have the public voice;
And all his neighbours realms would deſerts make.

45.

He without fear a dangerous war purſues,
Which without raſhneſs he began before:
As honour made him firſt the danger chuſe,
So ſtill he makes it good on virtue's ſcore.

46.

The doubled charge his ſubjects love ſupplies,
Who in that bounty to themſelves are kind:
So glad Egyptians ſee their Nilus riſe,
And in his plenty their abundance find.

47.

With equal pow'r he does two chiefs create,
Two ſuch as each ſeem'd worthieſt when alone;
Each able to ſuſtain a nation's fate,
Since both had found a greater in their own.

48.

Both great in courage, conduct, and in fame,
Yet neither envious of the other's praiſe;
Their duty, faith, and int'reſt too the ſame,
Like mighty partners equally they raiſe.

49.

The prince long time had courted fortune's love,
But once poſſeſs'd did abſolutely reign:
Thus with their Amazons the heroes ſtrove,
And conquer'd firſt thoſe beauties they would gain.

50.

The duke beheld, like Scipio, with diſdain,
That Carthage, which he ruin'd, riſe once more;
And ſhook aloft the the faſces of the main,
To fright thoſe ſlaves with what they felt before.

51.

Together to the watery camp they haſte,
Whom matrons paſſing to their children ſhew:
Infants firſt vows for them to heaven are caſt,
And future people bleſs them as they go.

52.

With them no riotous pomp, nor Aſian train,
To infect a navy with their gaudy fears;
To make ſlow fights, and victories but vain:
But war ſeverely like itſelf appears.

53.

Diffuſive of themſelves, where'er they paſs,
They make that warmth in others they expect:
Their valour works like bodies on a glaſs,
And does its image on their men project.

54.

Our fleet divides, and ſtraight the Dutch appear,
In number, and a fam'd commander, bold:
The narrow ſeas can ſcarce their navy bear,
Or crowded veſſels can their ſoldiers hold.

55.

The Duke, leſs numerous, but in courage more,
On wings of all the winds to combat flies:
His murdering guns a loud defiance roar,
And bloody croſſes on his flag-ſtaffs riſe.

56.

Both furl their ſails, and ſtrip them for the fight;
Their folded ſheets diſmiſs the uſeleſs air:
Th'Elean plains could boaſt no nobler ſight,
When ſtruggling champions did their bodies bare.

57.

Born each by other in a diſtant line,
The ſea-built forts in dreadful order move:
So vaſt the noiſe, as if not fleets did join,
But lands unfix'd, and floating nations ſtrove.

58.

Now paſs'd, on either ſide they nimbly tack;
Both ſtrive to intercept and guide the wind:
And, in its eye, more cloſely they come back,
To finiſh all the deaths they left behind.

59.

On high-rais'd decks the haughty Belgians ride,
Beneath whose shade our humble frigates go:
Such port the elephant bears, and so defy'd
By the rhinoceros her unequal foe.

60.

And as the built, so diff'rent is the fight;
Their mounting shot is on our sails design'd:
Deep in their hulls our deadly bullets light,
And through the yielding planks a passage find.

61.

Our dreaded admiral from far they threat,
Whose batter'd rigging their whole war receives:
All bare, like some old oak which tempests beat,
He stands, and sees below his scatter'd leaves.

62.

Heroes of old, when wounded, shelter sought;
But he who meets all danger with disdain,
E'en in their face his ship to anchor brought,
And steeple-high stood propt upon the main.

63.

At this excess of courage, all amaz'd,
The foremost of his foes awhile withdraw:
With such respect in enter'd Rome they gaz'd,
Who on high chairs the god-like fathers saw.

64.

And now, as where Patroclus' body lay,
Here Trojan chiefs advanc'd, and there the Greek;
Ours o'er the Duke their pious wings display,
And theirs the nobleſt ſpoils of Britain ſeek.

65.

Mean-time his buſy mariners he haſtes,
His ſhatter'd ſails with rigging to reſtore;
And willing pines aſcend his broken maſts,
Whoſe lofty heads riſe higher than before.

66.

Straight to the Dutch he turns his dreadful prow,
More fierce th'important quarrel to decide:
Like ſwans, in long array his veſſels ſhow,
Whoſe creſts advancing do the waves divide.

67.

They charge, recharge, and all along the ſea
They drive, and ſquander the huge Belgian fleet.
Berkley alone, who neareſt danger lay,
Did a like fate with loſt Creuſa meet.

68.

The night comes on, we eager to purſue
The combat ſtill, and they aſham'd to leave:
Till the laſt ſtreaks of dying day withdrew,
And doubtful moon-light did our rage deceive.

69.

In the Engliſh fleet each ſhip reſounds with joy,
And loud applauſe of their great leader's fame:
In fiery dreams the Dutch they ſtill deſtroy,
And ſlumbering ſmile at the imagin'd flame.

70.

Not ſo the Holland fleet, who tired and done,
Stretch'd on their decks like weary oxen lie:
Faint ſweats all down their mighty members run;
Vaſt bulks which little ſouls but ill ſupply.

71.

In dreams they fearful precipices tread:
Or ſhipwreck'd, labor to ſome diſtant ſhore:
Or in dark churches walk among the dead;
They wake with horror, and dare ſleep no more.

72.

The morn they look on with unwilling eyes,
Till from their main-top joyful news they hear
Of ſhips, which by their mould bring new ſupplies,
And in their colours Belgian lions bear.

73.

Our watchful general had diſcern'd from far
This mighty ſuccour, which made glad the foe:
He ſigh'd, but like a father of the war,
His face ſpake hope, while deep his ſorrows flow.

74.

His wounded men he firſt ſends off to ſhore,
Never till now unwilling to obey:
They, not their wounds, but want of ſtrength deplore,
And think them happy who with him can ſtay.

75.

Then to the reſt, Rejoice, ſaid he, to-day;
In you the fortune of Great-Britain lies:
Among ſo brave a people, you are they
Whom heaven has choſe to fight for ſuch a prize.

76.

If number Engliſh courages could quell,
We ſhould at firſt have ſhun'd, not met our foes:
Whoſe numerous ſails the fearful only tell:
Courage from hearts and not from numbers grows.

77.

He ſaid, nor needed more to ſay: with haſte
To their known ſtations chearfully they go;
And all at once, diſdaining to be laſt,
Solicit every gale to meet the foe.

78.

Nor did the encourag'd Belgians long delay,
But bold in others, not themſelves, they ſtood:
So thick, our navy ſcarce could ſteer their way,
But ſeem'd to wander in a moving wood.

79.

Our little fleet was now engag'd ſo far,
That, like the ſword-fiſh in the whale they fought:
The combat only ſeem'd a civil war,
Till through their bowels we our paſſage wrought.

80.

Never had valor, no not ours, before
Done ought like this upon the land or main,
Where not to be o'ercome was to do more
Than all the conqueſts former kings did gain.

81.

The mighty ghoſts of our great Harries roſe,
And armed Edwards look'd with anxious eyes,
To ſee this fleet among unequal foes,
By which fate promis'd them their Charles ſhould riſe.

82.

Mean-time the Belgians tack upon our rear,
And raking chaſe-guns through our ſterns they ſend:
Cloſe by their fire-ſhips, like jackals, appear,
Who on their lions for the prey attend.

83.

Silent in ſmoke of cannon they come on:
Such vapours once did fiery Cacus hide:
In theſe the height of pleas'd revenge is ſhewn,
Who burn contented by another's ſide.

84.

Sometimes from fighting ſquadrons of each fleet,
Deceiv'd themſelves, or to preſerve ſome friend,
Two grapling Ætnas on the ocean meet,
And Engliſh fires with Belgian flames contend.

85.

Now at each tack our little fleet grows leſs;
And like maim'd fowl, ſwim lagging on the main:
Their greater loſs their numbers ſcarce confeſs,
While they loſe cheaper than the Engliſh gain.

86.

Have you not ſeen, when whiſtled from the fiſt,
Some falcon ſtoops at what her eye deſign'd,
And with her eagerneſs the quarry miſs'd,
Straight flies at check, and clips it down the wind?

87.

The daſtard crow that to the wood made wing,
And ſees the groves no ſhelter can afford,
With her loud kaws her craven kind does bring,
Who ſafe in numbers cuff the noble bird.

88.

Among the Dutch thus Albemarle did fare:
He could not conquer, and diſdain'd to fly;
Paſt hope of ſafety, 'twas his lateſt care,
Like falling Cæſar, decently to die.

89.

Yet pity did his manly ſpirit move,
To ſee thoſe periſh who ſo well had fought;
And generouſly with his deſpair he ſtrove,
Reſolv'd to live till he their ſafety wrought.

90.

Let other muſes write his proſperous fate,
Of conquer'd nations tell, and kings reſtor'd:
But mine ſhall ſing of his eclips'd eſtate,
Which, like the ſun's, more wonders does afford.

91.

He drew his mighty frigates all before,
On which the foe his fruitleſs force employs:
His weak ones deep into his rear he bore
Remote from guns, as ſick men from the noiſe.

92.

His fiery cannon did their paſſage guide,
And following ſmoke obſcur'd them from the foe:
Thus Iſrael ſafe from the Egyptian's pride,
By flaming pillars, and by clouds did go.

93.

Elſewhere the Belgian force we did defeat,
But here our courages did theirs ſubdue:
So Xenophon once led that fam'd retreat,
Which firſt the Aſian empire overthrew.

94.

The foe approach'd; and one for his bold ſin
Was ſunk; as he that touch'd the ark was ſlain:
The wild waves maſter'd him and ſuck'd him in,
And ſmiling eddies dimpled on the main.

95.

This ſeen, the reſt at awful diſtance ſtood:
As if they had been there as ſervants ſet
To ſtay, or to go on, as he thought good,
And not purſue but wait on his retreat.

96.

So Libyan huntſmen, on ſome ſandy plain,
From ſhady coverts rouz'd, the lion chace:
The kingly beaſt roars out with loud diſdain,
And ſlowly moves, unknowing to give place.

97.

But if ſome one approach to dare his force,
He ſwings his tail, and ſwiftly turns him round;
With one paw ſeizes on his trembling horſe,
And with the other tears him to the ground.

98.

Amidſt theſe toils ſucceeds the balmy night;
Now hiſſing waters the quench'd guns reſtore;
And weary waves withdrawing from the fight,
Lie lull'd and panting on the ſilent ſhore.

99.

The moon ſhone clear on the becalmed flood,
Where while her beams like glittering ſilver play,
Upon the deck our careful general ſtood,
And deeply mus'd on the ſucceeding day.

100.

That happy ſun, ſaid he, will riſe again,
Who twice victorious did our navy ſee:
And I alone muſt view him riſe in vain,
Without one ray of all his ſtar for me.

101.

Yet like an Engliſh general will I die,
And all the ocean make my ſpacious grave:
Women and cowards on the land may lie;
The ſea's a tomb that's proper for the brave.

102.

Reſtleſs he paſs'd the remnant of the night,
Till the freſh air proclaim'd the morning nigh:
And burning ſhips, the martyrs of the fight,
With paler fires beheld the eaſtern ſky.

103.

But now his ſtores of ammunition ſpent,
His naked valour is his only guard:
Rare thunders are from his dumb cannon ſent,
And ſolitary guns are ſcarcely heard.

104.

Thus far had fortune power, he forc'd to ſtay,
Nor longer durſt with virtue be at ſtrife:
This as a ranſom Albemarle did pay,
For all the glories of ſo great a life.

105.

For now brave Rupert from afar appears,
Whoſe waving ſtreamers the glad general knows:
With full ſpread ſails his eager navy ſteers,
And every ſhip in ſwift proportion grows.

106.

The anxious prince had heard the cannon long,
And from that length of time dire omens drew
Of Engliſh overmatch'd, and Dutch too ſtrong,
Who never fought three days, but to purſue.

107.

Then, as an eagle, who with pious care
Was beating widely on the wing for prey,
To her now ſilent eiry does repair,
And finds her callow infants forc'd away:

108.

Stung with her love, ſhe ſtoops upon the plain,
The broken air loud whiſtling as ſhe flies:
She ſtops and liſtens, and ſhoots forth again,
And guides her pinions by her young ones cries.

109.

With ſuch kind paſſion haſtes the prince to fight,
And ſpreads his flying canvaſs to the ſound:
Him, whom no danger were he there could fright,
Now abſent every little noiſe can wound.

110.

As in a drought the thirſty creatures cry,
And gape upon the gather'd clouds for rain;
And firſt the martlet meets it in the ſky,
And with wet wings joys all the feather'd train.

111.

With ſuch glad hearts did our deſpairing men
Salute the appearance of the prince's fleet:
And each ambitiouſly would claim the ken,
That with firſt eyes did diſtant ſafety meet.

112.

The Dutch, who came like greedy hinds before,
To reap the harveſt their ripe ears did yield,
Now look like thoſe, when rolling thunders roar,
And ſheets of lightning blaſt the ſtanding field.

113.

Full in the prince's paſſage, hills of ſand,
And dangerous flats in ſecret ambuſh lay,
Where the falſe tides ſkim o'er the cover'd land,
And ſeamen with diſſembled depths betray.

114.

The wily Dutch, who like fall'n angels fear'd
This new Meſſiah's coming, there did wait,
And round the verge their braving veſſels ſteer'd,
To tempt his courage with ſo fair a bait.

115.

But he unmov'd contemns their idle threat,
Secure of fame whene'er he pleaſe to fight:
His cold experience tempers all his heat,
And inbred worth doth boaſting valor ſlight.

116.

Heroic virtue did his actions guide,
And he the ſubſtance not the appearance choſe:
To reſcue one ſuch friend he took more pride,
Than to deſtroy whole thouſands of ſuch foes.

117.

But when approach'd, in ſtrict embraces bound,
Rupert and Albemarle together grow:
He joys to have his friend in ſafety found,
Which he to none but to that friend would owe.

118.

The chearful ſoldiers, with new ſtores ſupply'd,
Now long to execute their ſpleenful will;
And in revenge for thoſe three days they try'd,
Wiſh one, like Joſhua's, when the ſun ſtood ſtill.

119.

Thus reinforc'd, againſt the adverſe fleet,
Still doubling ours, brave Rupert leads the way:
With the firſt bluſhes of the morn they meet,
And bring night back upon the new-born day.

120.

His preſence ſoon blows up the kindling fight,
And his loud guns ſpeak thick like angry men:
It ſeem'd as ſlaughter had been breath'd all night,
And death new pointed his dull dart agen.

121.

The Dutch too well his mighty conduct knew,
And matchleſs courage, ſince the former fight:
Whoſe navy like a ſtiff-ſtretch'd cord did ſhew,
Till he bore in and bent them into flight.

122.

The wind he ſhares, while half their fleet offends
His open ſide, and high above him ſhows:
Upon the reſt at pleaſure he deſcends,
And doubly harm'd he double harms beſtows.

123.

Behind the general mends his weary pace,
And ſullenly to his revenge he ſails:
So glides ſome trodden ſerpent on the graſs,
And long behind his wounded volume trails.

124.

The increasing sound is born to either shore,
And for their stakes the throwing nations fear:
Their passions double with the cannons roar,
And with warm wishes each man combats there.

125.

Ply'd thick and close as when the fight begun,
Their huge unwieldy navy wastes away:
So sicken waining moons too near the sun,
And blunt their crescents on the edge of day.

126.

And now reduc'd on equal terms to fight,
Their ships like wasted patrimonies show;
Where the thin scattering trees admit the light,
And shun each other's shadows as they grow.

127.

The warlike prince had sever'd from the rest
Two giant ships, the pride of all the main;
Which with his one so vigorously he press'd,
And flew so home they could not rise again.

128.

Already batter'd, by his lee they lay,
In vain upon the passing winds they call:
The passing winds through their torn canvass play,
And flagging sails on heartless sailors fall.

129.

Their open'd ſides receive a gloomy light,
Dreadful as day let into ſhades below:
Without grim death rides barefac'd in their ſight,
And urges entering billows as they flow.

130.

When one dire ſhot, the laſt they could ſupply,
Cloſe by the board the prince's main-maſt bore:
All three now helpleſs by each other lie,
And this offends not, and thoſe fear no more.

131.

So have I ſeen ſome fearful hare maintain
A courſe, till tired before the dog ſhe lay:
Who ſtretch'd behind her pants upon the plain,
Paſt power to kill, as ſhe to get away.

132.

With his loll'd tongue he faintly licks his prey;
His warm breath blows her flix up as ſhe lies;
She trembling creeps upon the ground away,
And looks back to him with beſeeching eyes.

133.

The prince unjuſtly does his ſtars accuſe,
Which hinder'd him to puſh his fortune on;
For what they to his courage did refuſe,
By mortal valor never muſt be done.

134.

This lucky hour the wise Batavian takes,
And warns his tatter'd fleet to follow home:
Proud to have so got off with equal stakes,
Where 'twas a triumph not to be o'ercome.

135.

The general's force as kept alive by fight,
Now not oppos'd no longer can pursue:
Lasting 'till heaven had done his courage right;
When he had conquer'd he his weakness knew.

136.

He casts a frown on the departing foe,
And sighs to see him quit the watery field:
His stern fix'd eyes no satisfaction show,
For all the glories which the fight did yield.

137.

Though as when fiends did miracles avow,
He stands confess'd e'en by the boastful Dutch:
He only does his conquest disavow,
And thinks too little what they found too much.

138.

Return'd, he with the fleet resolv'd to stay;
No tender thoughts of home his heart divide;
Domestic joys and cares he puts away;
For realms are households which the great must guide.

139.

As thoſe who unripe veins in mines explore,
On the rich bed again the warm turf lay,
Till time digeſts the yet imperfect ore,
And know it will be gold another day:

140.

So looks our monarch on this early fight,
Th' eſſay and rudiments of great ſucceſs:
Which all-maturing time muſt bring to light,
While he like heaven does each day's labor bleſs.

141.

Heaven ended not the firſt or ſecond day,
Yet each was perfect to the work deſign'd:
God and kings work, when they their work ſurvey,
A paſſive aptneſs in all ſubjects find.

142.

In burden'd veſſels firſt with ſpeedy care,
His plenteous ſtores do ſeaſon'd timber ſend:
Thither the brawny carpenters repair,
And as the ſurgeons of maim'd ſhips attend.

143.

With cord and canvaſs from rich Hamburgh ſent,
His navies molted wings he imps once more:
Tall Norway fir, their maſts in battle, ſpent,
And Engliſh oak, ſprung leaks and planks, reſtore.

144.

All hands employ'd the royal work grows warm:
Like laboring bees on a long ſummer's day,
Some ſound the trumpet for the reſt to ſwarm,
And ſome on bells of taſted lillies play.

145.

With glewy wax ſome new foundations lay
Of virgin-combs which from the roof are hung:
Some arm'd within doors upon duty ſtay,
Or tend the ſick, or educate the young.

146.

So here ſome pick out bullets from the ſides,
Some drive old okum through each ſeam and rift:
Their left hand does the calking iron guide,
The rattling mallet with the right they lift.

147.

With boiling pitch another near at hand,
From friendly Sweden brought, the ſeams inſtops:
Which well paid o'er, the ſalt ſea waves withſtand,
And ſhakes them from the riſing beak in drops.

148.

Some the gall'd ropes with dawby marline bind,
Or ſear-cloth maſts with ſtrong tarpawling coats:
To try new ſhrouds one mounts into the wind,
And one below their eaſe or ſtiffneſs notes.

149.

Our careful monarch ſtands in perſon by,
His new-caſt cannons firmneſs to explore:
The ſtrength of big-corn'd powder loves to try,
And ball and cartrige ſorts for every bore.

150.

Each day brings freſh ſupplies of arms and men,
And ſhips which all laſt winter were abroad;
And ſuch as fitted ſince the fight had been,
Or new from ſtocks, were fallen into the road.

151.

The goodly London in her gallant trim,
The Phœnix, daughter of the vaniſh'd old,
Like a rich bride does to the ocean ſwim,
And on her ſhadow rides in floating gold.

152.

Her flag aloft ſpread ruffling to the wind,
And ſanguine ſtreamers ſeem the flood to fire:
The weaver charm'd with what his loom deſign'd,
Goes on to ſea, and knows not to retire.

153.

With roomy decks, her guns of mighty ſtrength,
Whoſe low-laid mouths each mounting billow laves:
Deep in her draught, and warlike in her length,
She ſeems a ſea-waſp flying on the waves.

154.

This martial preſent, piouſly deſign'd,
The loyal city give their beſt-lov'd king:
And with a bounty ample as the wind,
Built, fitted and maintain'd, to aid him bring.

155.

By viewing nature, nature's handmaid, art
Makes mighty things from ſmall beginnings grow:
Thus fiſhes firſt to ſhipping did impart,
Their tail the rudder, and their head the prow.

156.

Some log perhaps upon the waters ſwam,
An uſeleſs drift, which rudely cut within,
And hollow'd firſt a floating trough became,
And croſs ſome rivulet paſſage did begin.

157.

In ſhipping ſuch as this, the Iriſh kern,
And untaught Indian on the ſtream did glide:
Ere ſharp-keel'd boats to ſtem the flood did learn,
Or fin-like oars did ſpread from either ſide.

158.

Add but a ſail, and Saturn ſo appear'd,
When from loſt empire he to exile went,
And with the golden age to Tyber ſteer'd,
Where coin and commerce firſt he did invent.

159.

Rude as their ſhips was navigation then;
No uſeful compaſs or meridian known;
Coaſting, they kept the land within their ken,
And knew no North but when the Pole-ſtar ſhone.

160.

Of all who ſince have us'd the open ſea,
Than the bold Engliſh none more fame have won:
Beyond the year, and out of heaven's high way,
They make diſcoveries where they ſee no ſun.

161.

But what ſo long in vain, and yet unknown,
By poor mankind's benighted wit is ſought,
Shall in this age to Britain firſt be ſhown,
And hence be to admiring nations taught.

162.

The ebbs of tides and their myſterious flow,
We, as arts elements, ſhall underſtand,
And as by line upon the ocean go,
Whoſe paths ſhall be familiar as the land.

163.

Inſtructed ſhips ſhall ſail to quick commerce,
By which remoteſt regions are ally'd;
Which makes one city of the univerſe;
Where ſome may gain, and all may be ſupply'd.

164.

Then we upon our globe's laſt verge ſhall go,
And view the ocean leaning on the ſky:
From thence our rolling neighbors we ſhall know,
And on the lunar world ſecurely pry.

165.

This I foretel from your auſpicious care,
Who great in ſearch of God and nature grow;
Who beſt your wiſe creator's praiſe declare,
Since beſt to praiſe his works is beſt to know.

166.

O truly royal! who behold the law
And rule of beings in your maker's mind:
And thence, like limbecs, rich ideas draw,
To fit the levell'd uſe of human-kind.

167.

But firſt the toils of war we muſt endure,
And from the injurious Dutch redeem the ſeas.
War makes the valiant of his right ſecure,
And gives up fraud to be chaſtis'd with eaſe.

168.

Already were the Belgians on our coaſt,
Whoſe fleet more mighty every day became
By late ſucceſs, which they did falſly boaſt,
And now by firſt appearing ſeem'd to claim.

169.

Deſigning, ſubtle, diligent and cloſe,
They knew to manage war with wiſe delay:
Yet all thoſe arts their vanity did croſs,
And by their pride their prudence did betray.

170.

Nor ſtaid the Engliſh long; but well ſupply'd,
Appear as numerous as the inſulting foe:
The combat now by courage muſt be try'd,
And the ſucceſs the braver nation ſhow.

171.

There was the Plymouth ſquadron now come in,
Which in the Straights laſt winter was abroad;
Which twice on Biſcay's working bay had been,
And on the midland ſea the French had aw'd.

172.

Old expert Allen, loyal all along,
Fam'd for his action on the Smyrna fleet:
And Holmes, whoſe name ſhall live in epic ſong,
While muſic numbers, or while verſe has feet.

173.

Holmes, the Achates of the general's fight;
Who firſt bewitch'd our eyes with Guinea gold:
As once old Cato in the Roman ſight
The tempting fruits of Afric did unfold.

174.

With him went Sprag, as bountiful as brave,
Whom his high courage to command had brought:
Harman, who did the twice-fir'd Harry ſave,
And in his burning ſhip undaunted fought.

175.

Young Hollis on a muſe by Mars begot,
Born, Cæſar like, to write and act great deeds:
Impatient to revenge his fatal ſhot,
His right hand doubly to his left ſucceeds.

176.

Thouſands were there in darker fame that dwell,
Whoſe deeds ſome nobler poem ſhall adorn:
And though to me unknown, they ſure fought well,
Whom Rupert led, and who were Britiſh born.

177.

Of every ſize an hundred fighting ſail:
So vaſt the navy now at anchor rides,
That underneath it the preſs'd waters fail,
And with its weight it ſhoulders off the tides.

178.

Now anchors weigh'd the ſeamen ſhout ſo ſhrill,
That heaven and earth and the wide ocean rings:
A breeze from weſtward waits their ſails to fill,
And reſts in thoſe high beds his downy wings.

179.

The wary Dutch this gathering ſtorm foreſaw,
And durſt not bide it on the Engliſh coaſt:
Behind their treacherous ſhallows they withdraw,
And there lay ſnares to catch the Britiſh hoſt.

180.

So the falſe ſpider, when her nets are ſpread,
Deep ambuſh'd in her ſilent den does lie:
And feels far off the trembling of her thread,
Whoſe filmy cord ſhould bind the ſtruggling fly.

181.

Then if at laſt ſhe find him faſt beſet,
She iſſues forth and runs along her loom:
She joys to touch the captive in her net,
And drag the little wretch in triumph home.

182.

The Belgians hop'd, that with diſorder'd haſte,
Our deep-cut keels upon the ſands might run:
Or if with caution leiſurely were paſt,
Their numerous groſs might charge us one by one.

183.

But with a fore-wind puſhing them above,
And ſwelling tide that heav'd them from below,
O'er the blind flats our warlike ſquadrons move,
And with ſpread ſails to welcome battle go.

184.

It ſeem'd as there the Britiſh Neptune ſtood,
With all his hoſts of waters at command,
Beneath them to ſubmit the officious flood;
And with his trident ſhov'd them off the ſand.

185.

To the pale foes they ſuddenly draw near,
And ſummon them to unexpected fight:
They ſtart like murderers when ghoſts appear,
And draw their curtains in the dead of night.

186.

Now van to van the foremoſt ſquadrons meet,
The midmoſt battles haſtning up behind:
Who view far off the ſtorm of falling fleet,
And hear their thunder rattling in the wind.

187.

At length the adverſe admirals appear;
The two bold champions of each country's right:
Their eyes deſcribe the liſts as they come near,
And draw the lines of death before they fight.

188.

The diſtance judg'd for ſhot of every ſize,
The linſtocs touch, the ponderous ball expires:
The vigorous ſeaman every port-hole plies,
And adds his heart to every gun he fires!

189.

Fierce was the fight on the proud Belgians ſide,
For honor, which they ſeldom ſought before:
But now they by their own vain boaſts were ty'd,
And forc'd at leaſt in ſhew to prize it more.

190.

But ſharp remembrance on the Engliſh part,
And ſhame of being match'd by ſuch a foe,
Rouze conſcious virtue up in every heart,
And ſeeming to be ſtronger makes them ſo.

191.

Nor long the Belgians could that fleet ſuſtain,
Which did two generals fates, and Cæſar's bear:
Each ſeveral ſhip a victory did gain,
As Rupert or as Albemarle were there.

192.

Their batter'd admiral too ſoon withdrew,
Unthank'd by ours for his unfiniſh'd fight:
But he the minds of his Dutch maſters knew,
Who call'd that providence which we call'd flight.

193.

Never did men more joyfully obey,
Or ſooner underſtood the ſign to fly:
With ſuch alacrity they bore away,
As if to praiſe them, all the ſtates ſtood by.

194.

O famous leader of the Belgian fleet,
Thy monument inſcrib'd ſuch praiſe ſhall wear,
As Varro timely flying once did meet,
Becauſe he did not of his Rome deſpair.

195.

Behold that navy, which a while before,
Provok'd the tardy Engliſh cloſe to fight;
Now draw their beaten veſſels cloſe to ſhore,
As larks lie dar'd to ſhun the hobbies flight.

196.

Whoe'er would Engliſh monuments ſurvey,
In other records may our courage know:
But let them hide the ſtory of this day,
Whoſe fame was blemiſh'd by too baſe a foe.

197.

Or if too buſily they will enquire
Into a victory, which we diſdain;
Then let them know the Belgians did retire
Before the patron ſaint of injur'd Spain.

198.

Repenting England this revengeful day
To Philip's manes did an offering bring:
England, which first by leading them astray,
Hatch'd up rebellion to destroy her king.

199.

Our fathers bent their baneful industry,
To check a monarchy that slowly grew;
But did not France or Holland's fate foresee,
Whose rising power to swift dominion flew.

200.

In fortune's empire blindly thus we go,
And wander after pathless destiny;
Whose dark resorts since prudence cannot know,
In vain it would provide for what shall be.

201.

But whate'er English to the bless'd shall go,
And the fourth Harry or first Orange meet;
Find him disowning of a Bourbon foe,
And him detesting a Batavian fleet.

202.

Now on their coasts our conquering navy rides,
Waylays their merchants, and their land besets;
Each day new wealth without their care provides;
They lie asleep with prizes in their nets.

203.

So close behind some promontory lie
The huge leviathans to attend their prey;
And give no chace, but swallow in the frie,
Which through their gaping jaws mistake the way.

204.

Nor was this all: in ports and roads remote,
Destructive fires among whole fleets we send;
Triumphant flames upon the water float,
And out-bound ships at home their voyage end.

205.

Those various squadrons variously design'd,
Each vessel freighted with a several load,
Each squadron waiting for a several wind,
All find but one, to burn them in the road.

206.

Some bound for Guiney golden sand to find,
Bore all the gauds the simple natives wear:
Some for the pride of Turkish courts design'd,
For folded turbants finest Holland bear.

207.

Some English wool vex'd in a Belgian loom,
And into cloth of spungy softness made,
Did into France or colder Denmark doom,
To ruin with worse ware our staple trade.

208.

Our greedy ſeamen rummage every hold,
Smile on the booty of each wealthier cheſt;
And as the prieſts who with their gods make bold,
Take what they like, and ſacrifice the reſt.

209.

But ah! how inſincere are all our joys!
Which ſent from heaven, like lightning make no ſtay:
Their palling taſte the journey's length deſtroys,
Or grief ſent poſt o'ertakes them on the way.

210.

Swell'd with our late ſucceſſes on the foe,
Which France and Holland wanted power to croſs,
We urge an unſeen fate to lay us low,
And feed their envious eyes with Engliſh loſs.

211.

Each element his dread command obeys,
Who makes or ruins with a ſmile or frown;
Who, as by one he did our nation raiſe,
So now he with another pulls us down.

212.

Yet London, empreſs of the northern clime,
By an high fate thou greatly didſt expire;
Great as the world's, which, at the death of time
Muſt fall, and riſe a nobler frame by fire.

213.

As when ſome dire uſurper heaven provides,
To ſcourge his country with a lawleſs ſway;
His birth perhaps ſome petty village hides,
And ſets his cradle out of fortune's way.

214.

Till fully ripe his ſwelling fate breaks out,
And hurries him to mighty miſchiefs on:
His prince ſurpriz'd at firſt no ill could doubt,
And wants the pow'r to meet it when 'tis known.

215.

Such was the riſe of this prodigious fire,
Which in mean buildings firſt obſcurely bred,
From thence did ſoon to open ſtreets aſpire,
And ſtraight to palaces and temples ſpread.

216.

The diligence of trades and noiſeful gain,
And luxury more late, aſleep were laid:
All was the night's; and in her ſilent reign
No ſound the reſt of nature did invade.

217.

In this deep quiet from what ſource unknown,
Thoſe ſeeds of fire their fatal birth diſcloſe;
And firſt few ſcattering ſparks about were blown,
Big with the flames that to our ruin roſe.

218.

Then in ſome cloſe-pent room it crept along,
And ſmouldering as it went, in ſilence fed;
Till th' infant monſter, with devouring ſtrong,
Walk'd boldly upright with exalted head.

219.

Now like ſome rich or mighty murderer,
Too great for priſon, which he breaks with gold;
Who freſher for new miſchiefs does appear,
And dares the world to tax him with the old:

220.

So ſcapes th'inſulting fire his narrow jail,
And makes ſmall outlets into open air:
There the fierce winds his tender force aſſail,
And beat him downward to his firſt repair.

221.

The winds like crafty courtezans with-held
His flames from burning, but to blow them more:
And every freſh attempt he is repell'd
With faint denials weaker than before.

222.

And now no longer letted of his prey,
He leaps up at it with enrag'd deſire:
O'erlooks the neighbors with a wide ſurvey,
And nods at every houſe his threatning fire.

223.

The ghoſts of traitors from the bridge deſcend,
With bold fanatic ſpectres to rejoice:
About the fire into a dance they bend,
And ſing their ſabbath notes with feeble voice.

224.

Our guardian angel ſaw them where they ſate
Above the palace of our ſlumbering king:
He ſigh'd, abandoning his charge to fate,
And drooping, oft look'd back upon the wing.

225.

At length the crackling noiſe and dreadful blaze
Call'd up ſome waking lover to the ſight;
And long it was ere he the reſt could raiſe,
Whoſe heavy eyelids yet were full of night.

226.

The next to danger, hot purſu'd by fate,
Half-cloth'd, half-naked, haſtily retire:
And frighted mothers ſtrike their breaſts too late,
For helpleſs infants left amidſt the fire.

227.

Their cries ſoon waken all the dwellers near;
Now murmuring noiſes riſe in every ſtreet:
The more remote run ſtumbling with their fear,
And in the dark men juſtle as they meet.

228.

So weary bees in little cells repoſe;
But if night-robbers lift the well-ſtor'd hive,
An humming through their waxen city grows,
And out upon each other's wings they drive.

229.

Now ſtreets grow throng'd and buſy as by day:
Some run for buckets to the hallow'd quire:
Some cut the pipes, and ſome the engines play;
And ſome more bold mount ladders to the fire.

230.

In vain: for from the Eaſt a Belgian wind
His hoſtile breath through the dry rafters ſent;
The flames impell'd ſoon left their foes behind,
And forward with a wanton fury went.

231.

A key of fire ran all along the ſhore,
And lighten'd all the river with a blaze:
The waken'd tides began again to roar,
And wondering fiſh in ſhining waters gaze.

232.

Old father Thames rais'd up his reverend head,
But fear'd the fate of Simois would return:
Deep in his ooze he ſought his ſedgy bed,
And ſhrunk his waters back into his urn.

233.

The fire, mean-time, walks in a broader groſs;
To either hand his wings he opens wide:
He wades the ſtreets, and ſtraight he reaches croſs,
And plays his longing flames on th' other ſide.

234.

At firſt they warm, then ſcorch, and then they take;
Now with long necks from ſide to ſide they feed:
At length grown ſtrong their mother-fire forſake,
And a new colony of flames ſucceed.

235.

To every nobler portion of the town
The curling billows roll their reſtleſs tide:
In parties now they ſtraggle up and down,
As armies unoppos'd for prey divide.

236.

One mighty ſquadron with a ſide-wind ſped,
Through narrow lanes his cumber'd fire does haſte,
By powerful charms of gold and ſilver led,
The Lombard bankers and the Change to waſte.

237.

Another backward to the Tower would go,
And ſlowly eats his way againſt the wind;
But the main body of the marching foe
Againſt th' imperial palace is deſign'd.

238.

Now day appears, and with the day the king,
Whoſe early care had robb'd him of his reſt:
Far off the cracks of falling houſes ring,
And ſhrieks of ſubjects pierce his tender breaſt.

239.

Near as he draws, thick harbingers of ſmoke
With gloomy pillars cover all the place;
Whoſe little intervals of night are broke
By ſparks, that drive againſt his ſacred face.

240.

More than his guards his ſorrows made him known,
And pious tears which down his cheeks did ſhow'r:
The wretched in his grief forgot their own;
So much the pity of a king has pow'r.

241.

He wept the flames of what he lov'd ſo well,
And what ſo well had merited his love:
For never prince in grace did more excel,
Or royal city more in duty ſtrove.

242.

Nor with an idle care did he behold:
Subjects may grieve, but monarchs must redress;
He chears the fearful and commends the bold,
And makes despairers hope for good success.

243.

Himself directs what first is to be done,
And orders all the succours which they bring:
The helpful and the good about him run,
And form an army worthy such a king.

244.

He sees the dire contagion spread so fast,
That where it seizes all relief is vain:
And therefore must unwillingly lay waste
That country, which would else the foe maintain.

245.

The powder blows up all before the fire:
Th' amazed flames stand gather'd on a heap;
And from the precipice's brink retire,
Afraid to venture on so large a leap.

246.

Thus fighting fires a while themselves consume,
But straight like Turks forc'd on to win or die,
They first lay tender bridges of their fume,
And o'er the breach in unctuous vapors fly.

247.

Part ſtay for paſſage, 'till a guſt of wind
Ships o'er their forces in a ſhining ſheet:
Part creeping under ground their journey blind,
And climbing from below their fellows meet.

248.

Thus to ſome deſert plain, or old wood-ſide,
Dire night-hags come from far to dance their round;
And o'er broad rivers on their fiends they ride,
Or ſweep in clouds above the blaſted ground.

249.

No help avails: for hydra-like, the fire
Lifts up his hundred heads to aim his way:
And ſcarce the wealthy can one half retire,
Before he ruſhes in to ſhare the prey.

250.

The rich grow ſuppliant, and the poor grow proud:
Thoſe offer mighty gain, and theſe aſk more:
So void of pity is th' ignoble crowd,
When others ruin may increaſe their ſtore.

251.

As thoſe who live by ſhores with joy behold
Some wealthy veſſel ſplit or ſtranded nigh;
And from the rocks leap down for ſhipwreck'd gold,
And ſeek the tempeſts which the others fly:

252.

So theſe but wait the owners laſt deſpair,
And what's permitted to the flames invade;
E'en from their jaws they hungry morſels tear,
And on their backs the ſpoils of Vulcan lade.

253.

The days were all in this loſt labor ſpent;
And when the weary king gave place to night,
His beams he to his royal brother lent,
And ſo ſhone ſtill in his reflective light.

254.

Night came, but without darkneſs or repoſe,
A diſmal picture of the general doom;
Where ſouls diſtracted when the trumpet blows,
And half unready with their bodies come.

255.

Thoſe who have homes, when home they do repair,
To a laſt lodging call their wandering friends:
Their ſhort uneaſy ſleeps are broke with care,
To look how near their own deſtruction tends.

256.

Thoſe who have none, ſit round where once it was,
And with full eyes each wonted room require:
Haunting the yet warm aſhes of the place,
As murder'd men walk where they did expire.

257.

Some ſtir up coals and watch the veſtal fire,
Others in vain from ſight of ruin run;
And while through burning lab'rinths they retire,
With loathing eyes repeat what they would ſhun.

258.

The moſt in fields like herded beaſts lie down,
To dews obnoxious on the graſſy floor;
And while their babes in ſleep their ſorrows drown,
Sad parents watch the remnants of their ſtore.

259.

While by the motion of the flames they gueſs
What ſtreets are burning now, and what are near,
An infant waking to the paps would preſs,
And meets, inſtead of milk, a falling tear.

260.

No thought can eaſe them but their ſovereign's care,
Whoſe praiſe th' afflicted as their comfort ſing:
E'en thoſe, whom want might drive to juſt deſpair,
Think life a bleſſing under ſuch a king.

261.

Mean-time he ſadly ſuffers in their grief,
Out-weeps an hermit, and out-prays a ſaint:
All the long night he ſtudies their relief,
How they may be ſupply'd, and he may want.

262.

O God, ſaid he, thou patron of my days,
Guide of my youth in exile and diſtreſs!
Who me unfriended brought'ſt by wond'rous ways,
The kingdom of my fathers to poſſeſs:

263.

Be thou my judge, with what unwearied care
I ſince have labor'd for my people's good;
To bind the bruiſes of a civil war,
And ſtop the iſſues of their waſting blood.

264.

Thou who haſt taught me to forgive the ill,
And recompenſe as friends, the good miſled;
If mercy be a precept of thy will,
Return that mercy on thy ſervant's head.

265.

Or if my heedleſs youth has ſtep'd aſtray,
Too ſoon forgetful of thy gracious hand;
On me alone thy juſt diſpleaſure lay,
But take thy judgments from this mourning land.

266.

We all have ſinn'd, and thou haſt laid us low,
As humble earth from whence at firſt we came:
Like flying ſhades before the clouds we ſhew,
And ſhrink like parchment in conſuming flame.

267.

O let it be enough what thou haſt done;
When ſpotted deaths ran arm'd through ev'ry ſtreet,
With poiſon'd darts which not the good could ſhun,
The ſpeedy could out-fly, or valiant meet.

268.

The living few, and frequent funerals then,
Proclaim'd thy wrath on this forſaken place:
And now thoſe few who are return'd agen,
Thy ſearching judgments to their dwellings trace.

269.

O paſs not, Lord, an abſolute decree,
Or bind thy ſentence unconditional:
But in thy ſentence our remorſe foreſee,
And in that foreſight this thy doom recal.

270.

Thy threatnings, Lord, as thine thou may'ſt revoke:
But if immutable and fix'd they ſtand,
Continue ſtill thyſelf to give the ſtroke,
And let not foreign foes oppreſs thy land.

271.

Th'Eternal heard, and from the heavenly quire
Choſe out the cherub with the flaming ſword;
And bad him ſwiftly drive th' approaching fire
From where our naval magazines were ſtor'd.

272.

The bleſſed miniſter his wings diſplay'd,
And like a ſhooting ſtar he cleft the night:
He charg'd the flames, and thoſe that diſobey'd
He laſh'd to duty with his ſword of light.

273.

The fugitive flames chaſtis'd went forth to prey
On pious ſtructures, by our fathers rear'd;
By which to heaven they did affect the way,
Ere faith in churchmen without works was heard.

274.

The wanting orphans ſaw with watery eyes,
Their founders charity in duſt laid low;
And ſent to God their ever-anſwer'd cries,
For he protects the poor, who made them ſo.

275.

Nor could thy fabric, Paul's, defend thee long,
Tho thou wert ſacred to thy Maker's praiſe:
Though made immortal by a poet's ſong;
And poets ſongs the Theban walls could raiſe.

276.

The daring flames peep'd in, and ſaw from far
The awful beauties of the ſacred quire:
But ſince it was prophan'd by civil war,
Heaven thought it fit to have it purg'd by fire.

277.

Now down the narrow ſtreets it ſwiftly came,
And widely opening did on both ſides prey:
This benefit we ſadly owe the flame,
If only ruin muſt enlarge our way.

278.

And now four days the ſun had ſeen our woes:
Four nights the moon beheld th' inceſſant fire:
It ſeem'd as if the ſtars more ſickly roſe,
And farther from the feveriſh north retire.

279.

In th' empyrean heaven, the bleſs'd abode,
The thrones and the dominions proſtrate lie;
Not daring to behold their angry God;
And an huſh'd ſilence damps the tuneful ſky.

280.

At length th' Almighty caſt a pitying eye,
And mercy ſoftly touch'd his melting breaſt:
He ſaw the town's one half in rubbiſh lie,
And eager flames drive on to ſtorm the reſt.

281.

An hollow cryſtal pyramid he takes,
In firmamental waters dipt above;
Of it a broad extinguiſher he makes,
And hoods the flames that to their quarry drove.

282.

The vanquiſh'd fires withdraw from every place,
Or full with feeding ſink into a ſleep:
Each houſhold genius ſhews again his face,
And from the hearths the little lares creep.

283.

Our king this more than natural change beholds;
With ſober joy his heart and eyes abound:
To the All-good his lifted hands he folds,
And thanks him low on his redeemed ground.

284.

As when ſharp froſts had long conſtrain'd the earth,
A kindly thaw unlocks it with cold rain;
And firſt the tender blade peeps up to birth,
And ſtraight the green fields laugh with promis'd grain:

285.

By ſuch degrees the ſpreading gladneſs grew
In every heart which fear had froze before:
The ſtanding ſtreets with ſo much joy they view,
That with leſs grief the periſh'd they deplore.

286.

The father of the people open'd wide
His ſtores, and all the poor with plenty fed:
Thus God's anointed God's own place ſupply'd,
And fill'd the empty with his daily bread.

287.

This royal bounty brought its own reward,
And in their minds ſo deep did print the ſenſe;
That if their ruins ſadly they regard,
'Tis but with fear the ſight might drive him thence.

288.

But ſo may he live long, that town to ſway,
Which by his auſpice they will nobler make,
As he will hatch their aſhes by his ſtay,
And not their humble ruins now forſake.

289.

They have not loſt their loyalty by fire;
Nor is their courage or their wealth ſo low,
That from his wars they poorly would retire,
Or beg the pity of a vanquiſh'd foe.

290.

Not with more conſtancy the Jews, of old
By Cyrus from rewarded exile ſent,
Their royal city did in duſt behold,
Or with more vigor to rebuild it went.

291.

The utmoſt malice of the ſtars is paſt,
And two dire comets, which have ſcourg'd the town,
In their own plague and fire have breath'd the laſt,
Or dimly in their ſinking ſockets frown.

292.

Now frequent trines the happier lights among,
And high-rais'd Jove, from his dark priſon freed,
Thoſe weights took off that on his planet hung,
Will glorioufly the new-laid works ſucceed.

293.

Methinks already from this chymic flame,
I see a city of more precious mold:
Rich as the town which gives the Indies name,
With silver-pav'd, and all divine with gold.

294.

Already laboring with a mighty fate,
She shakes the rubbish from her mounting brow,
And seems to have renew'd her charter's date,
Which heaven will to the death of time allow.

295.

More great than human now, and more august,
Now deified she from her fires does rise:
Her widening streets on new foundations trust,
And opening into larger parts she flies.

296.

Before she like some shepherdess did show,
Who sat to bathe her by a river's side;
Not answering to her fame, but rude and low,
Nor taught the beauteous arts of modern pride.

297.

Now like a maiden queen she will behold,
From her high turrets, hourly suitors come:
The East with incense, and the West with gold,
Will stand like suppliants to receive her doom.

298.

The ſilver Thames, her own domeſtic flood,
Shall bear her veſſels like a ſweeping train;
And often wind, as of his miſtreſs proud,
With longing eyes to meet her face again.

299.

The wealthy Tagus, and the wealthier Rhine,
The glory of their towns no more ſhall boaſt,
And Seyne, that would with Belgian rivers join,
Shall find her luſtre ſtain'd, and traffic loſt.

300.

The venturous merchant who deſign'd more far,
And touches on our hoſpitable ſhore,
Charm'd with the ſplendor of this northern ſtar,
Shall here unlade him, and depart no more.

301.

Our powerful navy ſhall no longer meet,
The wealth of France or Holland to invade:
The beauty of this town without a fleet;
From all the world ſhall vindicate her trade.

302.

And while this fam'd emporium we prepare,
The Britiſh ocean ſhall ſuch triumphs boaſt,
That thoſe, who now diſdain our trade to ſhare,
Shall rob like pirates on our wealthy coaſt.

303.

Already we have conquer'd half the war,
And the leſs dangerous part is left behind:
Our trouble now is but to make them dare,
And not ſo great to vanquiſh as to find.

304.

Thus to the eaſtern wealth through ſtorms we go,
But now, the Cape once doubled, fear no more;
A conſtant trade-wind will ſecurely blow,
And gently lay us on the ſpicy ſhore.

AN

ESSAY UPON SATIRE.

By Mr. DRYDEN, and the Earl of MULGRAVE.

HOW dull, and how inſenſible a beaſt
Is man, who yet would lord it o'er the reſt?
Philoſophers and poets vainly ſtrove
In every age the lumpiſh maſs to move:
But thoſe were pedants, when compar'd with theſe,
Who know not only to inſtruct but pleaſe.
Poets alone found the delightful way,
Myſterious morals gently to convey
In charming numbers; ſo that as men grew
Pleas'd with their poems; they grew wiſer too.
Satire has always ſhone among the reſt,
And is the boldeſt way, if not the beſt,
To tell men freely of their fouleſt faults;
To laugh at their vain deeds, and vainer thoughts.
In ſatire too the wiſe took different ways,
To each deſerving its peculiar praiſe.
Some did all folly with juſt ſharpneſs blame,
Whilſt others laugh'd and ſcorn'd them into ſhame.

But of these two, the last succeeded best,
As men aim righteſt when they ſhoot in jeſt.
Yet, if we may preſume to blame our guides,
And cenſure thoſe, who cenſure all beſides;
In other things they juſtly are preferr'd;
In this alone methinks the ancients err'd;
Againſt the groſſeſt follies they declaim;
Hard they purſue, but hunt ignoble game.
Nothing is eaſier than ſuch blots to hit,
And 'tis the talent of each vulgar wit:
Beſides 'tis labor loſt; for who would preach
Morals to Armſtrong, or dull Aſton teach?
'Tis being devout at play, wiſe at a ball,
Or bringing wit and friendſhip to Whitehall.
But with ſharp eyes thoſe nicer faults to find,
Which lie obſcurely in the wiſeſt mind;
That little ſpeck which all the reſt does ſpoil,
To waſh off that would be a noble toil;
Beyond the looſe writ libels of this age,
Or the forc'd ſcenes of our declining ſtage;
Above all cenſure too, each little wit
Will be ſo glad to ſee the greater hit;
Who judging better, though concern'd the moſt,
Of ſuch correction will have cauſe to boaſt.

In ſuch a ſatire all would ſeek a ſhare,
And every fool will fancy he is there.
Old ſtory-tellers too muſt pine and die,
To ſee their antiquated wit laid by;
Like her, who miſs'd her name in a lampoon,
And grieved to find herſelf decay'd ſo ſoon.
No common coxcomb muſt be mention'd here:
Not the dull train of dancing ſparks appear;
Nor fluttering officers who never fight;
Of ſuch a wretched rabble who would write?
Much leſs half wits: that's more againſt our rules;
For they are fops, the other are but fools.
Who would not be as ſilly as Dunbar?
As dull as Monmouth, rather than Sir Carr?
The cunning courtier ſhould be ſlighted too,
Who with dull knavery makes ſo much ado;
Till the ſhrewd fool, by thriving too too faſt,
Like Æſop's fox becomes a prey at laſt.
Nor ſhall the royal miſtreſſes be nam'd,
Too ugly, or too eaſy to be blam'd;
With whom each rhiming fool keeps ſuch a pother,
They are as common that way as the other:
Yet ſauntering Charles between his beaſtly brace,
Meets with diſſembling ſtill in either place,
Affected humor, or a painted face.

In loyal libels we have often told him,
How one has jilted him, the other ſold him:
How that affects to laugh, how this to weep;
But who can rail ſo long as he can ſleep?
Was ever prince by two at once miſled,
Falſe, fooliſh, old, ill-natur'd, and ill-bred?
Earnely and Ayleſbury, with all that race
Of buſy blockheads, ſhall have here no place;
At council ſet as foils on Dorſet's ſcore,
To make that great falſe jewel ſhine the more;
Who all that while was thought exceeding wiſe,
Only for taking pains and telling lies.
But there's no meddling with ſuch nauſeous men;
Their very names have tired my lazy pen:
'Tis time to quit their company, and chuſe
Some fitter ſubject for a ſharper muſe.

Firſt, let's behold the merrieſt man alive
Againſt his careleſs genius vainly ſtrive;
Quit his dear eaſe, ſome deep deſign to lay,
'Gainſt a ſet time, and then forget the day:
Yet he will laugh at his beſt friends, and be
Juſt as good company as Nokes and Lee.
But when he aims at reaſon or at rule,
He turns himſelf the beſt to ridicule.

Let him at buſineſs ne'er ſo earneſt ſit,
Shew him but mirth, and bait that mirth with wit;
That ſhadow of a jeſt ſhall be enjoy'd,
Though he left all mankind to be deſtroy'd.
So cat transform'd ſat gravely and demure,
Till mouſe appear'd, and thought himſelf ſecure;
But ſoon the lady had him in her eye,
And from her friend did juſt as oddly fly.
Reaching above our nature does no good;
We muſt fall back to our old fleſh and blood;
As by our little Machiavel we find
That nimbleſt creature of the buſy kind,
His limbs are crippled, and his body ſhakes;
Yet his hard mind which all this buſtle makes,
No pity of its poor companion takes.
What gravity can hold from laughing out,
To ſee him drag his feeble legs about,
Like hounds ill-coupled? Jowler lugs him ſtill
Through hedges, ditches, and through all that's ill.
'Twere crime in any man but him alone,
To uſe a body ſo, though 'tis one's own:
Yet this falſe comfort never gives him o'er,
That whilſt he creeps his vigorous thoughts can ſoar:
Alas! that ſoaring to thoſe few that know,
Is but a buſy groveling here below.

So men in rapture think they mount the ſky,
Whilſt on the ground th'intranced wretches lie:
So modern fops have fancied they could fly.
As the new earl with parts deſerving praiſe,
And wit enough to laugh at his own ways;
Yet loſes all ſoft days and ſenſual nights,
Kind nature checks, and kinder fortune ſlights;
Striving againſt his quiet all he can,
For the fine notion of a buſy man.
And what is that at beſt, but one, whoſe mind
Is made to tire himſelf and all mankind?
For Ireland he would go; faith, let him reign;
For if ſome odd fantaſtic lord would fain
Carry in trunks, and all my drudgery do,
I'll not only pay him, but admire him too.
But is there any other beaſt that lives,
Who his own harm ſo wittingly contrives?
Will any dog that has his teeth and ſtones,
Refinedly leave his bitches and his bones,
To turn a wheel? and bark to be employ'd,
While Venus is by rival dogs enjoy'd?
Yet this fond man, to get a ſtateſman's name,
Forfeits his friends, his freedom, and his fame.

Tho ſatire nicely writ with humor ſtings
But thoſe who merit praiſe in other things;

Yet we muſt needs this one exception make,
And break our rules for folly Tropos ſake;
Who was too much deſpis'd to be accus'd,
And therefore ſcarce deſerves to be abus'd;
Rais'd only by his mercenary tongue,
For railing ſmoothly, and for reaſoning wrong.
As boys on holy-days let looſe to play,
Lay waggiſh traps for girls that paſs that way;
Then ſhout to ſee in dirt and deep diſtreſs
Some ſilly cit in her flower'd fooliſh dreſs:
So have I mighty ſatisfaction found,
To ſee his tinſel reaſon on the ground:
To ſee the florid fool deſpis'd, and know it,
By ſome who ſcarce have words enough to ſhow it:
For ſenſe ſits ſilent, and condemns for weaker
The ſinner, nay ſometimes the wittieſt ſpeaker:
But 'tis prodigious ſo much eloquence
Should be acquired by ſuch little ſenſe;
For words and wit did anciently agree,
And Tully was no fool, though this man be:
At bar abuſive, on the bench unable,
Knave on the woolſack, fop at council-table.
Theſe are the grievances of ſuch fools as would
Be rather wiſe than honeſt, great than good.
Some other kind of wits muſt be made known,
Whoſe harmleſs errors hurt themſelves alone;

Exceſs of luxury they think can pleaſe,
And lazineſs call loving of their eaſe:
To live diſſolv'd in pleaſures ſtill they feign,
Tho their whole life's but intermitting pain:
So much of ſurfeits, head-aches, claps are ſeen,
We ſcarce perceive the little time between:
Well-meaning men who make this groſs miſtake,
And pleaſure loſe only for pleaſure's ſake;
Each pleaſure has its price, and when we pay
Too much of pain, we ſquander life away,

Thus Dorſet, purring like a thoughtful cat,
Married, but wiſer puſs ne'er thought of that:
And firſt he worried her with railing rhime,
Like Pembroke's maſtives at his kindeſt time;
Then for one night ſold all his ſlaviſh life,
A teeming widow, but a barren wife;
Swell'd by contact of ſuch a fulſom toad,
He lugg'd about the matrimonial load;
Till fortune, blindly kind as well as he,
Has ill reſtor'd him to his liberty;
Which he would uſe in his old ſneaking way,
Drinking all night and dozing all the day;
Dull as Ned Howard, whom his briſker times
Had fam'd for dulneſs in malicious rhimes.

Mul---ve

Mulgrave had much ado to ſcape the ſnare,
Though learn'd in all thoſe arts that cheat the fair:
For after all his vulgar marriage-mocks,
With beauty dazzled, Numps was in the ſtocks;
Deluded parents dry'd their weeping eyes,
To ſee him catch his tartar for his prize:
Th' impatient town waited the wiſh'd-for change,
And cukolds ſmil'd in hopes of ſweet revenge;
Till Petworth plot made us with ſorrow ſee,
As his eſtate, his perſon too was free:
Him no ſoft thoughts, no gratitude could move;
To gold he fled from beauty and from love;
Yet failing there he keeps his freedom ſtill,
Forc'd to live happily againſt his will:
'Tis not his fault, if too much wealth and pow'r
Break not his boaſted quiet every hour.
And little Sid. for ſimile renown'd,
Pleaſure has always ſought but never found:
Though all his thoughts on wine and women fall,
His are ſo bad, ſure he ne'er thinks at all.
The fleſh he lives upon is rank and ſtrong,
His meat and miſtreſſes are kept too long.
But ſure we all miſtake this pious man,
Who mortifies his perſon all he can:

What we uncharitably take for ſin,
Are only rules of this odd capuchin;
For never hermit under grave pretence,
Has liv'd more contrary to common ſenſe;
And 'tis a miracle we may ſuppoſe,
No naſtineſs offends his ſkilful noſe;
Which from all ſtink can with peculiar art
Extract perfume and eſſence from a f---t:
Expecting ſupper is his great delight;
He toils all day but to be drunk at night:
Then o'er his cups this night-bird chirping ſits,
Till he takes Hewet and Jack Hall for wits.
Rocheſter I deſpiſe for want of wit,
Though thought to have a tail and cloven feet;
For while he miſchief means to all mankind,
Himſelf alone the ill effects does find:
And ſo like witches juſtly ſuffers ſhame,
Whoſe harmleſs malice is ſo much the ſame.
Falſe are his words, affected is his wit;
So often he does aim, ſo ſeldom hit;
To every face he cringes while he ſpeaks,
But when the back is turn'd the head he breaks:
Mean in each action, lewd in every limb,
Manners themſelves are miſchievous in him:
A proof that chance alone makes every creature,
A very Killigrew without good nature.

For what a Beſſus has he always liv'd,
And his own kickings notably contriv'd?
For, there's the folly that's ſtill mixt with fear,
Cowards more blows than any hero bear;
Of fighting ſparks ſome may their pleaſures ſay,
But 'tis a bolder thing to run away:
The world may well forgive him all his ill,
For every fault does prove his penance ſtill:
Falſly he falls into ſome dangerous nooſe,
And then as meanly labors to get looſe;
A life ſo infamous is better quitting,
Spent in baſe injury and low ſubmitting.
I'd like to have left out his poetry;
Forgot by all almoſt as well as me.
Sometimes he has ſome humor, never wit,
And if it rarely, very rarely, hit,
'Tis under ſo much naſty rubbiſh laid,
To find it out's the cinderwoman's trade;
Who for the wretched remnants of a fire,
Muſt toil all day in aſhes and in mire.
So lewdly dull his idle works appear,
The wretched texts deſerve no comments here;
Where one poor thought ſometimes, left all alone,
For a whole page of dulneſs muſt atone.

How vain a thing is man, and how unwiſe ?
E'en he, who would himſelf the moſt deſpiſe ?
I, who ſo wiſe and humble ſeem to be,
Now my own vanity and pride can't ſee.
While the world's nonſenſe is ſo ſharply ſhewn,
We pull down others but to raiſe our own ;
That we may angels ſeem, we paint them elves,
And are but ſatires to ſet up ourſelves.
I, who have all this while been finding fault,
E'en with my maſter, who firſt ſatire taught ;
And did by that deſcribe the taſk ſo hard,
It ſeems ſtupendous and above reward ;
Now labor with unequal force to climb
That lofty hill, unreach'd by former time :
'Tis juſt that I ſhould to the bottom fall,
Learn to write well, or not to write at all.

ABSALOM

AND

ACHITOPHEL.

PART I.

TO THE

READER.

'TIS not my intention to make an apology for my poem: ſome will think it needs no excuſe, and others will receive none. The deſign I am ſure is honeſt: but he who draws his pen for one party, muſt expect to make enemies of the other. For wit and fool are conſequents of Whig and Tory; and every man is a knave or an aſs to the contrary ſide. There is a treaſury of merits in the Fanatic church, as well as in the Popiſh; and a pennyworth to be had of ſaintſhip, honeſty, and poetry, for the lewd, the factious, and the blockheads: but the longeſt chapter in Deuteronomy has not curſes enough for an Anti-Bromingham. My comfort is, their manifeſt prejudice to my cauſe will render their judgment of leſs authority againſt me. Yet if a poem have genius, it will force its own reception in the world. For there's a ſweetneſs in good verſe, which tickles even while it hurts: and no man can be heartily angry with him who pleaſes him againſt his will. The commendation of adverſaries is the greateſt triumph of a writer, becauſe it never comes unleſs extorted.

But I can be ſatisfied on more eaſy terms: if I happen to pleaſe the more moderate ſort, I ſhall be ſure of an honeſt party, and, in all probability, of the beſt judges: for the leaſt concerned are commonly the leaſt corrupt. And I confeſs I have laid in for thoſe, by rebating the ſatire, where juſtice would allow it, from carrying too ſharp an edge. They who can criticiſe ſo weakly, as to imagine I have done my worſt, may be convinced at their own coſt that I can write ſeverely, with more eaſe than I can gently. I have but laughed at ſome men's follies, when I could have declaimed againſt their vices: and other men's virtues I have commended, as freely as I have taxed their crimes. And now, if you are a malicious reader, I expect you ſhould return upon me that I affect to be thought more impartial than I am: but if men are not to be judged by their profeſſions, God forgive you commonwealth's-men for profeſſing ſo plauſibly for the government. You cannot be ſo unconſcionable as to charge me for not ſubſcribing my name; for that would reflect too groſly upon your own party, who never dare, though they have the advantage of a jury to ſecure them. If you like not my poem, the fault may poſſibly be in my writing; though 'tis hard for an author to judge againſt

himself. But more probably 'tis in your morals, which cannot bear the truth of it. The violent on both sides will condemn the character of Absalom, as either too favorably or too hardly drawn. But they are not the violent whom I desire to please. The fault on the right hand is to extenuate, palliate, and indulge; and to confess freely, I have endeavoured to commit it. Besides the respect which I owe his birth, I have a greater for his heroic virtues; and David himself could not be more tender of the young man's life, than I would be of his reputation. But since the most excellent natures are always the most easy, and, as being such, are the soonest perverted by ill counsels, especially when baited with fame and glory; 'tis no more a wonder that he withstood not the temptations of Achitophel, than it was for Adam not to have resisted the two devils, the serpent and the woman. The conclusion of the story I purposely forbore to prosecute, because I could not obtain from myself to shew Absalom unfortunate. The frame of it was cut out but for a picture to the waste; and if the draught be so far true, 'tis as much as I designed.

Were I the inventor, who am only the historian, I should certainly conclude the piece, with

the reconcilement of Abſalom to David. And who knows but this may come to paſs? Things were not brought to an extremity where I left the ſtory: there ſeems yet to be room left for a compoſure; hereafter there may be only for pity. I have not ſo much as an uncharitable wiſh againſt Achitophel, but am content to be accuſed of a good-natured error, and to hope with Origen, that the devil himſelf may at laſt be ſaved. For which reaſon, in this poem, he is neither brought to ſet his houſe in order, nor to diſpoſe of his perſon afterwards as he in wiſdom ſhall think fit. God is infinitely merciful; and his vicegerent is only not ſo, becauſe he is not infinite.

The true end of ſatire is the amendment of vices by correction. And he, who writes honeſtly, is no more an enemy to the offender, than the phyſician to the patient, when he preſcribes harſh remedies to an inveterate diſeaſe; for thoſe are only in order to prevent the chirurgeon's work of an *Enſe reſcindendum*, which I wiſh not to my very enemies. To conclude all; if the body politic have any analogy to the natural, in my weak judgment, an act of oblivion were as neceſſary in a hot diſtemper'd ſtate, as an opiate would be in a raging fever.

ABSALOM

AND

ACHITOPHEL.

IN pious times ere prieſtcraft did begin,
Before polygamy was made a ſin;
When man on many multiply'd his kind,
Ere one to one was curſedly confin'd;
When nature prompted, and no law deny'd
Promiſcuous uſe of concubine and bride;
Then Iſrael's monarch after heaven's own heart,
His vigorous warmth did variouſly impart

To wives and ſlaves; and wide as his command,
Scatter'd his Maker's image through the land.
Michal, of royal blood, the crown did wear;
A ſoil ungrateful to the tiller's care:
Not ſo the reſt; for ſeveral mothers bore
To god-like David ſeveral ſons before.
But ſince like ſlaves his bed they did aſcend,
No true ſucceſſion could their ſeed attend.
Of all the numerous progeny was none
So beautiful, ſo brave, as Abſalom:
Whether inſpir'd by ſome diviner luſt,
His father got him with a greater guſt:
Or that his conſcious deſtiny made way,
By manly beauty to imperial ſway.
Early in foreign fields he won renown,
With kings and ſtates ally'd to Iſrael's crown:
In peace the thoughts of war he could remove,
And ſeem'd as he were only born for love.
Whate'er he did, was done with ſo much eaſe,
In him alone 'twas natural to pleaſe:
His motions all accompany'd with grace;
And paradiſe was open'd in his face.
With ſecret joy indulgent David view'd
His youthful image in his ſon renew'd:
To all his wiſhes nothing he deny'd;
And made the charming Annabel his bride.

What faults he had, for who from faults is free?
His father could not, or he would not ſee.
Some warm exceſſes which the law forbore,
Were conſtru'd youth that purg'd by boiling o'er
And Amnon's murder by a ſpecious name,
Was call'd a juſt revenge for injur'd fame.
Thus prais'd and lov'd, the noble youth remain'd,
While David undiſturb'd in Sion reign'd.
But life can never be ſincerely bleſt:
Heaven puniſhes the bad, and proves the beſt.
The Jews, a headſtrong, moody, murmuring race,
As ever try'd th'extent and ſtretch of grace;
God's pamper'd people, whom debauch'd with eaſe,
No king could govern, nor no God could pleaſe;
Gods they had try'd of every ſhape and ſize,
That godſmiths could produce, or prieſts deviſe:
Theſe Adam-wits too fortunately free,
Began to dream they wanted liberty;
And when no rule, no precedent was found,
Of men, by laws leſs circumſcrib'd and bound;
They led their wild deſires to woods and caves,
And thought that all but ſavages were ſlaves.
They who, when Saul was dead, without a blow,
Made fooliſh Iſhboſheth the crown forego;

Who baniſh'd David did from Hebron bring,
And with a general ſhout proclaim'd him king:
Thoſe very Jews, who at their very beſt,
Their humor more than loyalty expreſt,
Now wonder'd why ſo long they had obey'd
An idol monarch, which their hands had made;
Thought they might ruin him they could create,
Or melt him to that golden calf a ſtate.
But theſe were random bolts: no form'd deſign,
Nor intereſt made the factious crowd to join:
The ſober part of Iſrael, free from ſtain,
Well knew the value of a peaceful reign;
And looking backward with a wiſe affright,
Saw ſeams of wounds diſhoneſt to the ſight:
In contemplation of whoſe ugly ſcars,
They curſt the memory of civil wars.
The moderate ſort of men thus qualify'd,
Inclin'd the balance to the better ſide;
And David's mildneſs manag'd it ſo well,
The bad found no occaſion to rebel.
But when to ſin our bias'd nature leans,
The careful devil is ſtill at hand with means;
And providently pimps for ill deſires:
The good old cauſe reviv'd a plot requires.
Plots true or falſe are neceſſary things,
To raiſe up commonwealths, and ruin kings.

Th'inhabitants of old Jeruſalem
Were Jebuſites; the town ſo call'd from them;
And theirs the native right------
But when the choſen people grew more ſtrong,
The rightful cauſe at length became the wrong;
And every loſs the men of Jebus bore,
They ſtill were thought God's enemies the more.
Thus worn or weaken'd, well or ill content,
Submit they muſt to David's government:
Impoveriſh'd and depriv'd of all command,
Their taxes doubled as they loſt their land;
And what was harder yet to fleſh and blood,
Their gods diſgrac'd, and burnt like common wood.
This ſet the heathen prieſthood in a flame;
For prieſts of all religions are the ſame.
Of whatſoe'er deſcent their godhead be,
Stock, ſtone, or other homely pedigree,
In his defence his ſervants are as bold,
As if he had been born of beaten gold.
The Jewiſh rabbins, though their enemies,
In this conclude them honeſt men and wiſe:
For 'twas their duty all the learned think,
T' eſpouſe his cauſe, by whom they eat and drink.
From hence began that plot, the nation's curſe,
Bad in itſelf, but repreſented worſe;

Rais'd in extremes, and in extremes decry'd;
With oaths affirm'd, with dying vows deny'd;
Not weigh'd nor winnow'd by the multitude;
But ſwallow'd in the maſs, unchew'd and crude.
Some truth there was, but daſh'd and brew'd with lies,
To pleaſe the fools, and puzzle all the wiſe.
Succeeding times did equal folly call,
Believing nothing, or believing all.
Th' Egyptian rites the Jebuſites embrac'd;
Where gods were recommended by their taſte.
Such ſavory deities muſt needs be good,
As ſerv'd at once for worſhip and for food.
By force they could not introduce theſe gods;
For ten to one in former days was odds.
So fraud was us'd, the ſacrificer's trade:
Fools are more hard to conquer than perſuade.
Their buſy teachers mingled with the Jews,
And rak'd for converts even the court and ſtews:
Which Hebrew prieſts the more unkindly took,
Becauſe the fleece accompanies the flock.
Some thought they God's anointed meant to ſlay
By guns, invented ſince full many a day:
Our author ſwears it not; but who can know
How far the devil and Jebuſites may go?

This

This plot, which fail'd for want of common ſenſe,
Had yet a deep and dangerous conſequence:
For as when raging fevers boil the blood,
The ſtanding lake ſoon floats into a flood,
And every hoſtile humor, which before
Slept quiet in its channels, bubbles o'er;
So ſeveral factions from this firſt ferment,
Work up to foam and threat the government.
Some by their friends, more by themſelves thought wiſe,
Oppos'd the power to which they could not riſe.
Some had in courts been great, and thrown from thence,
Like fiends were harden'd in impenitence.
Some, by their monarch's fatal mercy, grown
From pardon'd rebels kinſmen to the throne,
Were rais'd in power and public office high;
Strong bands, if bands ungrateful men could tie.
Of theſe the falſe Achitophel was firſt;
A name to all ſucceeding ages curſt:
For cloſe deſigns, and crooked counſels fit;
Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit;
Reſtleſs, unfix'd in principles and place;
In pow'r unpleas'd, impatient of diſgrace:

A fiery ſoul, which working out its way,
Fretted the pigmy-body to decay,
And o'er-inform'd the tenement of clay.
A daring pilot in extremity;
Pleas'd with the danger when the waves went high,
He ſought the ſtorms; but for a calm unfit,
Would ſteer too nigh the ſands to boaſt his wit.
Great wits are ſure to madneſs near ally'd,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide;
Elſe why ſhould he with wealth and honor bleſt,
Refuſe his age the needful hours of reſt?
Puniſh a body which he could not pleaſe;
Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of eaſe?
And all to leave what with his toil he won,
To that unfeather'd two-legg'd thing, a ſon;
Got, while his ſoul did huddled notions try;
And born a ſhapeleſs lump, like anarchy.
In friendſhip falſe, implacable in hate;
Reſolv'd to ruin, or to rule the ſtate.
To compaſs this the triple bond he broke;
The pillars of the public ſafety ſhook;
And fitted Iſrael for a foreign yoke:
Then ſeiz'd with fear, yet ſtill affecting fame,
Uſurp'd a patriot's all-atoning name.
So eaſy ſtill it proves in factious times,
With public zeal to cancel private crimes.

How ſafe is treaſon, and how ſacred ill,
Where none can ſin againſt the people's will ?
Where crowds can wink, and no offence be known,
Since in another's guilt they find their own ?
Yet fame deſerv'd no enemy can grudge ;
The ſtateſman we abhor, but praiſe the judge.
In Iſrael's courts ne'er ſat an Abethdin
With more diſcerning eyes, or hands more clean,
Unbrib'd, unſought, the wretched to redreſs ;
Swift of diſpatch, and eaſy of acceſs.
Oh ! had he been content to ſerve the crown,
With virtues only proper to the gown ;
Or had the rankneſs of the ſoil been freed
From Cockle, that oppreſs'd the noble ſeed ;
David for him his tuneful harp had ſtrung,
And heaven had wanted one immortal ſong.
But wild ambition loves to ſlide, not ſtand,
And fortune's ice prefers to virtue's land.
Achitophel grown weary to poſſeſs
A lawful fame, and lazy happineſs,
Diſdain'd the golden fruit to gather free,
And lent the crowd his arm to ſhake the tree.
Now, manifeſt of crimes contriv'd long ſince,
He ſtood at bold defiance with his prince ;

Held up the buckler of the people's cauſe
Againſt the crown, and ſculk'd behind the laws.
The wiſh'd occaſion of the plot he takes;
Some circumſtances finds, but more he makes.
By buzzing emiſſaries fills the ears
Of liſtening crowds with jealouſies and fears
Of arbitrary counſels brought to light,
And proves the king himſelf a Jebuſite.
Weak arguments! which yet he knew full well,
Were ſtrong with people eaſy to rebel.
For govern'd by the moon, the giddy Jews
Tread the ſame track when ſhe the prime renews;
And once in twenty years their ſcribes record,
By natural inſtinct they change their lord.
Achitophel ſtill wants a chief, and none
Was found ſo fit as warlike Abſalom.
Not that he wiſh'd his greatneſs to create,
For politicians neither love nor hate:
But, for he knew his title not allow'd,
Would keep him ſtill depending on the crowd:
That kingly pow'r, thus ebbing out, might be
Drawn to the dregs of a democracy.
Him he attempts with ſtudied arts to pleaſe,
And ſheds his venom in ſuch words as theſe.

Auſpicious prince, at whoſe nativity
Some royal planet rul'd the ſouthern ſky;

Thy longing country's darling and desire;
Their cloudy pillar and their guardian fire:
Their second Moses, whose extended wand
Divides the seas, and shews the promis'd land:
Whose dawning day in every distant age,
Has exercis'd the sacred prophet's rage:
The people's prayer, the glad diviner's theme,
The young men's vision, and the old men's dream!
Thee, Saviour, thee the nation's vows confess,
And never satisfy'd with seeing, bless:
Swift unbespoken pomps thy steps proclaim,
And stammering babes are taught to lisp thy name.
How long wilt thou the general joy detain,
Starve and defraud the people of thy reign;
Content ingloriously to pass thy days,
Like one of virtue's fools that feed on praise;
'Till thy fresh glories which now shine so bright,
Grow stale, and tarnish with our daily sight?
Believe me, royal youth, thy fruit must be
Or gather'd ripe, or rot upon the tree.
Heaven has to all allotted, soon or late,
Some lucky revolution of their fate:
Whose motions if we watch and guide with skill,
For human good depends on human will,

Our fortune rolls as from a ſmooth deſcent,
And from the firſt impreſſion takes the bent:
But if unſeiz'd ſhe glides away like wind,
And leaves repenting folly far behind.
Now, now ſhe meets you with a glorious prize,
And ſpreads her locks before you as ſhe flies.
Had thus old David, from whoſe loins you ſpring,
Not dar'd when fortune call'd him to be king,
At Gath an exile he might ſtill remain,
And heaven's anointing oil had been in vain.
Let his ſucceſsful youth your hopes engage;
But ſhun th' example of declining age:
Behold him ſetting in his weſtern ſkies,
The ſhadows lengthening as the vapors riſe.
He is not now, as when on Jordan's ſand
The joyful people throng'd to ſee him land,
Covering the beach and blackening all the ſtrand;
But like the prince of angels, from his height
Comes tumbling downward with diminiſh'd light:
Betray'd by one poor plot to public ſcorn:
Our only bleſſing ſince his curſt return:
Thoſe heaps of people which one ſheaf did bind,
Blown off and ſcatter'd by a puff of wind.
What ſtrength can he to your deſigns oppoſe,
Naked of friends and round beſet with foes?

If Pharaoh's doubtful ſuccor he ſhould uſe,
A foreign aid would more incenſe the Jews:
Proud Egypt would diſſembled friendſhip bring;
Foment the war but not ſupport the king:
Nor would the royal party e'er unite
With Pharaoh's arms to aſſiſt the Jebuſite;
Or if they ſhould, their intereſt ſoon would break,
And with ſuch odious aid make David weak.
All ſorts of men by my ſucceſsful arts,
Abhorring kings, eſtrange their alter'd hearts
From David's rule: and 'tis their general cry,
Religion, commonwealth, and liberty.
If you, as champion of the public good,
Add to their arms a chief of royal blood,
What may not Iſrael hope, and what applauſe
Might ſuch a general gain by ſuch a cauſe?
Not barren praiſe alone, that gaudy flow'r
Fair only to the ſight, but ſolid power:
And nobler is a limited command,
Given by the love of all your native land,
Than a ſucceſſive title, long and dark,
Drawn from the mouldy rolls of Noah's ark.
What cannot praiſe effect in mighty minds,
When flattery ſooths, and when ambition blinds?

Desire of power, on earth a vicious weed,
Yet sprung from high is of celestial seed:
In God 'tis glory; and when men aspire,
'Tis but a spark too much of heavenly fire.
The ambitious youth too covetous of fame,
Too full of angel's metal in his frame,
Unwarily was led from virtue's ways,
Made drunk with honor, and debauch'd with praise.
Half loath, and half consenting to the ill,
For royal blood within him struggled still,
He thus reply'd.----And what pretence have I
To take up arms for public liberty?
My father governs with unquestion'd right;
The faith's defender, and mankind's delight;
Good, gracious, just, observant of the laws;
And heaven by wonders has espous'd his cause.
Whom has he wrong'd in all his peaceful reign?
Who sues for justice to his throne in vain?
What millions has he pardon'd of his foes,
Whom just revenge did to his wrath expose?
Mild, easy, humble, studious of our good;
Inclin'd to mercy, and averse from blood.
If mildness ill with stubborn Israel suit,
His crime is God's beloved attribute.

What could he gain his people to betray,
Or change his right for arbitrary ſway?
Let haughty Pharaoh curſe with ſuch a reign
His fruitful Nile, and yoke a ſervile train.
If David's rule Jeruſalem diſpleaſe,
The dog-ſtar heats their brains to this diſeaſe.
Why then ſhould I, encouraging the bad,
Turn rebel and run popularly mad?
Were he a tyrant, who by lawleſs might
Oppreſs'd the Jews, and rais'd the Jebuſite,
Well might I mourn; but nature's holy bands
Would curb my ſpirits and reſtrain my hands:
The people might aſſert their liberty;
But what was right in them were crime in me.
His favor leaves me nothing to require,
Prevents my wiſhes, and out-runs deſire;
What more can I expect while David lives?
All but his kingly diadem he gives:
And that--But here he paus'd; then ſighing, ſaid--
Is juſtly deſtin'd for a worthier head.
For when my father from his toils ſhall reſt,
And late augment the number of the bleſt,
His lawful iſſue ſhall the throne aſcend,
Or the collateral line, where that ſhall end.
His brother, tho oppreſs'd with vulgar ſpite,
Yet dauntleſs, and ſecure of native right,

Of every royal virtue ſtands poſſeſt;
Still dear to all the braveſt and the beſt.
His courage foes, his friends his truth proclaim;
His loyalty the king, the world his fame.
His mercy e'en th' offending crowd will find;
For ſure he comes of a forgiving kind.
Why ſhould I then repine at heaven's decree,
Which gives me no pretence to royalty?
Yet oh that fate propitiouſly inclin'd,
Had rais'd my birth, or had debas'd my mind;
To my large ſoul not all her treaſure lent,
And then betray'd it to a mean deſcent!
I find, I find my mounting ſpirits bold,
And David's part diſdains my mother's mould.
Why am I ſcanted by a niggard birth?
My ſoul diſclaims the kindred of her earth;
And made for empire whiſpers me within,
Deſire of greatneſs is a god-like ſin.

Him ſtaggering ſo, when hell's dire agent found,
While fainting virtue ſcarce maintain'd her ground,
He pours freſh forces in, and thus replies:

Th' eternal God, ſupremely good and wiſe,
Imparts not theſe prodigious gifts in vain:
What wonders are reſerv'd to bleſs your reign?
Againſt your will your arguments have ſhown,
Such virtue's only given to guide a throne.

Not that your father's mildneſs I contemn;
But manly force becomes the diadem.
'Tis true he grants the people all they crave;
And more perhaps, than ſubjects ought to have:
For laviſh grants ſuppoſe a monarch tame,
And more his goodneſs than his wit proclaim.
But when ſhould people ſtrive their bonds to break,
If not when kings are negligent or weak?
Let him give on 'till he can give no more,
The thrifty ſanhedrim ſhall keep him poor;
And every ſhekel, which he can receive,
Shall coſt a limb of his prerogative.
To ply him with new plots ſhall be my care;
Or plunge him deep in ſome expenſive war;
Which when his treaſure can no more ſupply,
He muſt, with the remains of kingſhip, buy
His faithful friends, our jealouſies and fears
Call Jebuſites, and Pharaoh's penſioners;
Whom when our fury from his aid has torn,
He ſhall be naked left to public ſcorn.
The next ſucceſſor, whom I fear and hate,
My arts have made obnoxious to the ſtate;
Turn'd all his virtues to his overthrow,
And gain'd our elders to pronounce a foe.

His right, for ſums of neceſſary gold,
Shall firſt be pawn'd, and afterwards be ſold;
'Till time ſhall ever-wanting David draw,
To paſs your doubtful title into law;
If not, the people have a right ſupreme
To make their kings; for kings are made for them.
All empire is no more than power in truſt,
Which, when reſumed, can be no longer juſt.
Succeſſion, for the general good deſign'd,
In its own wrong a nation cannot bind:
If altering that the people can relieve,
Better one ſuffer than a nation grieve.
The Jews well know their pow'r: ere Saul they choſe,
God was their king, and God they durſt depoſe.
Urge now your piety, your filial name,
A father's right, and fear of future fame;
The public good, that univerſal call,
To which e'en heav'n ſubmitted, anſwers all.
Nor let his love enchant your generous mind;
'Tis nature's trick to propagate her kind.
Our fond begetters, who would never die,
Love but themſelves in their poſterity.
Or let his kindneſs by th' effects be try'd,
Or let him lay his vain pretence aſide.

God ſaid, he lov'd your father; could he bring
A better proof, than to anoint him king?
It ſurely ſhew'd he lov'd the ſhepherd well,
Who gave ſo fair a flock as Iſrael.
Would David have you thought his darling ſon?
What means he then to alienate the crown?
The name of godly he may bluſh to bear:
Is't after God's own heart to cheat his heir?
He to his brother gives ſupreme command,
To you a legacy of barren land;
Perhaps th' old harp, on which he thrums his lays,
Or ſome dull Hebrew ballad in your praiſe.
Then the next heir, a prince ſevere and wiſe,
Already looks on you with jealous eyes;
Sees through the thin diſguiſes of your arts,
And marks your progreſs in the people's hearts;
Though now his mighty ſoul its grief contains:
He meditates revenge who leaſt complains;
And like a lion, ſlumbering in the way,
Or ſleep diſſembling, while he waits his prey,
His fearleſs foes within his diſtance draws,
Conſtrains his roaring, and contracts his paws;
'Till at the laſt his time for fury found,
He ſhoots with ſudden vengeance from the ground;

The proſtrate vulgar paſſes o'er and ſpares,
But with a lordly rage his hunters tears.
Your caſe no tame expedients will afford:
Reſolve on death, or conqueſt by the ſword,
Which for no leſs a ſtake than life you draw;
And ſelf-defence is nature's eldeſt law.
Leave the warm people no conſidering time:
For then rebellion may be thought a crime.
Avail your ſelf of what occaſion gives,
But try your title while your father lives:
And that your arms may have a fair pretence,
Proclaim you take them in the king's defence;
Whoſe ſacred life each minute would expoſe
To plots, from ſeeming friends, and ſecret foes.
And who can ſound the depth of David's ſoul?
Perhaps his fear his kindneſs may controul.
He fears his brother, tho' he loves his ſon,
For plighted vows too late to be undone.
If ſo, by force he wiſhes to be gain'd:
Like women's lechery to ſeem conſtrain'd.
Doubt not: but, when he moſt affects the frown,
Commit a pleaſing rape upon the crown.
Secure his perſon to ſecure your cauſe:
They who poſſeſs the prince poſſeſs the laws.

He ſaid, and this advice above the reſt,
With Abſalom's mild nature ſuited beſt;
Unblam'd of life, ambition ſet aſide,
Not ſtain'd with cruelty, nor puſt with pride.
How happy had he been, if deſtiny
Had higher plac'd his birth, or not ſo high!
His kingly virtues might have claim'd a throne,
And bleſt all other countries but his own.
But charming greatneſs ſince ſo few refuſe,
'Tis juſter to lament him than accuſe.
Strong were his hopes a rival to remove,
With blandiſhments to gain the public love:
To head the faction while their zeal was hot,
And popularly proſecute the plot.
To further this, Achitophel unites
The malcontents of all the Iſraelites:
Whoſe differing parties he could wiſely join,
For ſeveral ends, to ſerve the ſame deſign.
The beſt, and of the princes ſome were ſuch,
Who thought the power of monarchy too much;
Miſtaken men, and patriots in their hearts;
Not wicked, but ſeduc'd by impious arts.
By theſe the ſprings of property were bent,
And wound ſo high, they crack'd the government.
The next for intereſt ſought to embroil the ſtate,
To ſell their duty at a dearer rate;

And make their Jewiſh markets of the throne;
Pretending public good to ſerve their own.
Others thought kings an uſeleſs heavy load,
Who coſt too much, and did too little good.
Theſe were for laying honeſt David by,
On principles of pure good huſbandry.
With them join'd all th'haranguers of the throng,
That thought to get preferment by the tongue.
Who follow next a double danger bring,
Not only hating David, but the king;
The Solymæan rout; well vers'd of old,
In godly faction, and in treaſon bold;
Cowring and quaking at a conqueror's ſword,
But lofty to a lawful prince reſtor'd;
Saw with diſdain an Ethnic plot begun,
And ſcorn'd by Jebuſites to be outdone.
Hot Levites headed theſe; who pull'd before
From th'ark, which in the judges days they bore,
Reſum'd their cant, and with a zealous cry,
Purſu'd their old belov'd theocracy:
Where ſanhedrim and prieſt enſlav'd the nation,
And juſtified their ſpoils by inſpiration:
For who ſo fit to reign as Aaron's race,
If once dominion they could found in grace?
Theſe led the pack; tho not of ſureſt ſcent,
Yet deepeſt mouth'd againſt the government.

A

A numerous hoſt of dreaming ſaints ſucceed,
Of the true old enthuſiaſtic breed:
'Gainſt form and order they their power employ,
Nothing to build, and all things to deſtroy.
But far more numerous was the herd of ſuch,
Who think too little, and who talk too much.
Theſe out of mere inſtinct, they knew not why,
Ador'd their fathers God and property;
And by the ſame blind benefit of fate,
The devil and the Jebuſite did hate:
Born to be ſav'd, even in their own deſpite,
Becauſe they could not help believing right.
Such were the tools: but a whole Hydra more
Remains of ſprouting heads too long to ſcore.
Some of their chiefs were princes of the land;
In the firſt rank of theſe did Zimri ſtand:
A man ſo various, that he ſeem'd to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome:
Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong;
Was every thing by ſtarts, and nothing long;
But, in the courſe of one revolving moon,
Was chymiſt, fidler, ſtateſman, and buffoon:
Then all for women, painting, rhiming, drinking,
Beſides ten thouſand freaks that dy'd in thinking.

Bleſt madman, who could every hour employ,
With ſomething new to wiſh, or to enjoy!
Railing and praiſing were his uſual themes;
And both, to ſhew his judgment, in extremes:
So over violent, or over civil,
That every man with him was God or Devil.
In ſquandering wealth was his peculiar art:
Nothing went unrewarded but deſert.
Beggar'd by fools, whom ſtill he found too late;
He had his jeſt, and they had his eſtate.
He laugh'd himſelf from court; then ſought relief
By forming parties, but could ne'er be chief:
For ſpite of him the weight of buſineſs fell
On Abſalom, and wiſe Achitophel:
Thus, wicked but in will, of means bereft,
He left not faction, but of that was left.

Titles and names 'twere tedious to rehearſe
Of lords, below the dignity of verſe.
Wits, warriors, commonwealths-men, were the beſt:
Kind huſbands, and mere nobles, all the reſt.
And therefore, in the name of dulneſs, be
The well-hung Balaam and cold Caleb free:
And canting Nadab let oblivion damn,
Who made new porrige for the paſchal lamb.

Let friendſhip's holy band ſome names aſſure;
Some their own worth, and ſome let ſcorn ſecure.
Nor ſhall the raſcal rabble here have place,
Whom kings no titles gave, and God no grace:
Not bull-fac'd Jonas, who could ſtatutes draw
To mean rebellion, and make treaſon law.
But he, tho bad, is follow'd by a worſe,
The wretch who heaven's anointed dar'd to curſe;
Shimei, whoſe youth did early promiſe bring
Of zeal to God and hatred to his king;
Did wiſely from expenſive ſins refrain,
And never broke the ſabbath but for gain:
Nor ever was he known an oath to vent,
Or curſe unleſs againſt the government.
Thus heaping wealth, by the moſt ready way
Among the Jews, which was to cheat and pray;
The city to reward his pious hate
Againſt his maſter, choſe him magiſtrate.
His hand a vaſe of juſtice did uphold;
His neck was loaded with a chain of gold.
During his office treaſon was no crime;
The ſons of Belial had a glorious time:
For Shimei, tho not prodigal of pelf,
Yet lov'd his wicked neighbor as himſelf.

When two or three were gathered to declaim
Againſt the monarch of Jeruſalem,
Shimei was always in the midſt of them:
And if they curs'd the king when he was by,
Would rather curſe than break good company.
If any durſt his factious friends accuſe,
He pack'd a jury of diſſenting Jews;
Whoſe fellow-feeling in the godly cauſe
Would free the ſuffering ſaint from human laws.
For laws are only made to puniſh thoſe
Who ſerve the king, and to protect his foes.
If any leiſure time he had from power,
Becauſe 'tis ſin to miſemploy an hour:
His buſineſs was, by writing to perſuade,
That kings were uſeleſs and a clog to trade:
And that his noble ſtyle he might refine,
No Rechabite more ſhun'd the fumes of wine.
Chaſte were his cellars, and his ſhrieval board
The groſsneſs of a city feaſt abhorr'd:
His cooks with long diſuſe their trade forgot;
Cool was his kitchen, tho his brains were hot.
Such frugal virtue malice may accuſe;
But ſure 'twas neceſſary to the Jews:
For towns, once burnt, ſuch magiſtrates require
As dare not tempt God's providence by fire.

With ſpiritual food he fed his ſervants well,
But free from fleſh that made the Jews rebel:
And Moſes' laws he held in more account,
For forty days of faſting in the mount.
To ſpeak the reſt who better are forgot,
Would tire a well-breath'd witneſs of the plot.
Yet Corah, thou ſhalt from oblivion paſs;
Erect thyſelf, thou monumental braſs,
High as the ſerpent of thy metal made,
While nations ſtand ſecure beneath thy ſhade.
What, tho his birth were baſe, yet comets riſe
From earthly vapors ere they ſhine in ſkies.
Prodigious actions may as well be done
By weaver's iſſue, as by prince's ſon.
This arch-atteſtor for the public good
By that one deed ennobles all his blood.
Who ever aſk'd the witneſſes high race,
Whoſe oath with martyrdom did Stephen grace?
Ours was a Levite, and as times went then,
His tribe were God Almighty's gentlemen.
Sunk were his eyes, his voice was harſh and loud,
Sure ſigns he neither choleric was, nor proud:
His long chin prov'd his wit; his ſaint-like grace
A church vermillion, and a Moſes' face.
His memory miraculouſly great,
Could plots, exceeding man's belief, repeat;

Which therefore cannot be accounted lies,
For human wit could never ſuch deviſe.
Some future truths are mingled in his book;
But where the witneſs fail'd the prophet ſpoke:
Some things like viſionary flight appear;
The ſpirit caught him up the Lord knows where;
And gave him his rabinical degree,
Unknown to foreign univerſity.
His judgment yet his memory did excel;
Which piec'd his wonderous evidence ſo well,
And ſuited to the temper of the times,
Then groaning under jebuſitic crimes.
Let Iſrael's foes ſuſpect his heavenly call,
And raſhly judge his writ apocryphal;
Our laws for ſuch affronts have forfeits made:
He takes his life who takes away his trade.
Were I myſelf in witneſs Corah's place,
The wretch who did me ſuch a dire diſgrace,
Should whet my memory, tho once forgot,
To make him an appendix of my plot.
His zeal to heaven made him his prince deſpiſe,
And load his perſon with indignities.
But zeal peculiar privilege affords,
Indulging latitude to deeds and words:
And Corah might for Agag's murder call,
In terms as coarſe as Samuel us'd to Saul.

What others in his evidence did join,
The beſt that could be had for love or coin,
In Corah's own predicament will fall:
For witneſs is a common name to all.

Surrounded thus with friends of every ſort,
Deluded Abſalom forſakes the court:
Impatient of high hopes, urg'd with renown,
And fir'd with near poſſeſſion of a crown.
Th' admiring crowd are dazzled with ſurprize,
And on his goodly perſon feed their eyes.
His joy conceal'd he ſets himſelf to ſhow;
On each ſide bowing popularly low:
His looks, his geſtures, and his words he frames,
And with familiar eaſe repeats their names.
Thus form'd by nature, furniſh'd out with arts,
He glides unfelt into their ſecret hearts.
Then with a kind compaſſionating look,
And ſighs, beſpeaking pity ere he ſpoke,
Few words he ſaid; but eaſy thoſe and fit,
More ſlow than hybla-drops, and far more ſweet.

I mourn, my countrymen, your loſt eſtate;
Tho far unable to prevent your fate:
Behold a baniſh'd man for your dear cauſe
Expos'd a prey to arbitrary laws!

Yet oh! that I alone could be undone,
Cut off from empire, and no more a ſon!
Now all your liberties a ſpoil are made;
Egypt and Tyrus intercept your trade,
And Jebuſites your ſacred rites invade.
My father, whom with reverence yet I name,
Charm'd into eaſe, is careleſs of his fame;
And brib'd with petty ſums of foreign gold,
Is grown in Bathſheba's embraces old;
Exalts his enemies, his friends deſtroys;
And all his power againſt himſelf employs.
He gives, and let him give, my right away:
But why ſhould he his own and yours betray?
He, only he, can make the nation bleed,
And he alone from my revenge is freed.
Take then my tears, with that he wip'd his eyes,
'Tis all the aid my preſent power ſupplies:
No court-informer can theſe arms accuſe;
Theſe arms may ſons againſt their fathers uſe:
And 'tis my wiſh, the next ſucceſſor's reign
May make no other Iſraelite complain.

Youth, beauty, graceful action ſeldom fail;
But common intereſt always will prevail:
And pity never ceaſes to be ſhown
To him who makes the people's wrongs his own.

The crowd that ſtill believe their kings oppreſs,
With lifted hands their young Meſſiah bleſs:
Who now begins his progreſs to ordain
With chariots, horſemen, and a numerous train:
From eaſt to weſt his glories he diſplays,
And, like the ſun, the promis'd land ſurveys.
Fame runs before him as the morning-ſtar,
And ſhouts of joy ſalute him from afar:
Each houſe receives him as a guardian god,
And conſecrates the place of his abode.
But hoſpitable treats did moſt commend
Wiſe Iſſachar, his wealthy weſtern friend.
This moving court that caught the people's eyes,
And ſeem'd but pomp, did other ends diſguiſe:
Achitophel had form'd it, with intent
To ſound the depths, and fathom where it went,
The people's hearts, diſtinguiſh friends from foes;
And try their ſtrength before they came to blows.
Yet all was color'd with a ſmooth pretence
Of ſpecious love, and duty to their prince.
Religion, and redreſs of grievances,
Two names that always cheat, and always pleaſe,
Are often urg'd; and good king David's life
Endanger'd by a brother and a wife.
Thus in a pageant ſhew a plot is made;
And peace itſelf is war in maſquerade.

Oh fooliſh Iſrael! never warn'd by ill!
Still the ſame bait, and circumvented ſtill!
Did ever men forſake their preſent eaſe,
In midſt of health imagine a diſeaſe;
Take pains contingent miſchiefs to foreſee,
Make heirs for monarchs, and for God decree?
What ſhall we think? Can people give away,
Both for themſelves and ſons, their native ſway?
Then they are left defenceleſs to the ſword
Of each unbounded, arbitrary lord:
And laws are vain, by which we right enjoy,
If kings unqueſtion'd can thoſe laws deſtroy.
Yet if the crowd be judge of fit and juſt,
And kings are only officers in truſt,
Then this reſuming covenant was declar'd
When kings were made, or is for ever barr'd.
If thoſe who gave the ſcepter could not tie
By their own deed their own poſterity,
How then cou'd Adam bind his future race?
How cou'd his forfeit on mankind take place?
Or how cou'd heavenly juſtice damn us all,
Who ne'er conſented to our father's fall?
Then kings are ſlaves to thoſe whom they command,
And tenants to their people's pleaſure ſtand.
Add, that the power for property allow'd
Is miſchievouſly ſeated in the crowd:

For who can be ſecure of private right,
If ſovereign ſway may be diſſolv'd by might?
Nor is the people's judgment always true:
The moſt may err as groſly as the few?
And faultleſs kings run down by common cry,
For vice, oppreſſion, and for tyranny.
What ſtandard is there in a fickle rout,
Which, flowing to the mark, runs faſter out?
Nor only crowds but ſanhedrims may be
Infected with this public lunacy,
And ſhare the madneſs of rebellious times,
To murder monarchs for imagin'd crimes.
If they may give and take whene'er they pleaſe,
Not kings alone, the Godhead's images,
But government itſelf at length muſt fall
To nature's ſtate, where all have right to all.
Yet, grant our lords the people kings can make,
What prudent men a ſettled throne would ſhake?
For whatſoe'er their ſufferings were before,
That change they covet makes them ſuffer more.
All other errors but diſturb a ſtate;
But innovation is the blow of fate.
If ancient fabrics nod, and threat to fall,
To patch their flaws, and buttreſs up the wall,
Thus far 'tis duty: but here fix the mark;
For all beyond it is to touch the ark.

To change foundations, caſt the frame anew,
Is work for rebels, who baſe ends purſue;
At once divine and human laws controul,
And mend the parts by ruin of the whole.
The tampering world is ſubject to this curſe,
To phyſic their diſeaſe into a worſe.

Now what relief can righteous David bring?
How fatal 'tis to be too good a king!
Friends he has few, ſo high the madneſs grows;
Who dare be ſuch muſt be the people's foes.
Yet ſome there were, e'en in the worſt of days;
Some let me name, and naming is to praiſe.

In this ſhort file Barzillai firſt appears;
Barzillai, crown'd with honor and with years.
Long ſince, the riſing rebels he withſtood
In regions waſte beyond the Jordan's flood:
Unfortunately brave to buoy the ſtate;
But ſinking underneath his maſter's fate:
In exile with his godlike prince he mourn'd;
For him he ſuffer'd, and with him return'd.
The court he practis'd, not the courtier's art:
Large was his wealth, but larger was his heart.
Which well the nobleſt objects knew to chooſe,
The fighting warrior, and recording muſe.
His bed could once a fruitful iſſue boaſt;
Now more than half a father's name is loſt.

His eldeſt hope, with every grace adorn'd,
By me, ſo heaven will have it, always mourn'd,
And always honour'd, ſnatch'd in manhood's prime
By unequal fates, and providence's crime:
Yet not before the goal of honor won,
All parts fulfill'd of ſubject and of ſon:
Swift was the race, but ſhort the time to run.
Oh narrow circle, but of power divine,
Scanted in ſpace, but perfect in thy line!
By ſea, by land, thy matchleſs worth was known,
Arms thy delight, and war was all thy own:
Thy force infus'd the fainting Tyrians prop'd;
And haughty Pharaoh found his fortune ſtop'd.
Oh ancient honor! Oh unconquer'd hand,
Whom foes unpuniſh'd never cou'd withſtand!
But Iſrael was unworthy of his name:
Short is the date of all immoderate fame.
It looks as heaven our ruin had deſign'd,
And durſt not truſt thy fortune and thy mind.
Now, free from earth, thy diſencumber'd ſoul
Mounts up, and leaves behind the clouds and ſtarry pole:
From thence thy kindred legions mayſt thou bring,
To aid the guardian angel of thy king.
Here ſtop, my muſe, here ceaſe thy painful flight:
No pinions can purſue immortal height:

Tell good Barzillai thou canſt ſing no more,
And tell thy ſoul ſhe ſhould have fled before:
Or fled ſhe with his life, and left this verſe
To hang on her departed patron's hearſe?
Now take thy ſteepy flight from heav'n, and ſee
If thou canſt find on earth another he:
Another he would be too hard to find;
See then whom thou canſt ſee not far behind.
Zadoc the prieſt, whom, ſhunning pow'r and place,
His lowly mind advanc'd to David's grace.
With him the Sagan of Jeruſalem,
Of hoſpitable ſoul, and noble ſtem;
Him of the weſtern dome, whoſe weighty ſenſe
Flows in fit words and heavenly eloquence.
The prophets ſons, by ſuch example led,
To learning and to loyalty were bred:
For colleges on bounteous kings depend,
And never rebel was to arts a friend.
To theſe ſucceed the pillars of the laws;
Who beſt can plead, and beſt can judge a cauſe.
Next them a train of loyal peers aſcend;
Sharp-judging Adriel, the muſes friend,
Himſelf a muſe: in ſanhedrims debate
True to his prince, but not a ſlave of ſtate:
Whom David's love with honors did adorn,
That from his diſobedient ſon were torn.

Jotham of piercing wit, and pregnant thought;
Endued by nature, and by learning taught,
To move assemblies, who but only try'd
The worse a-while, then chose the better side:
Nor chose alone, but turn'd the balance too;
So much the weight of one brave man can do.
Hushai, the friend of David in distress;
In public storms of manly stedfastness:
By foreign treaties he inform'd his youth,
And join'd experience to his native truth.
His frugal care supply'd the wanting throne;
Frugal for that, but bounteous of his own:
'Tis easy conduct when exchequers flow;
But hard the task to manage well the low:
For sovereign power is too depress'd or high,
When kings are forc'd to sell, or crowds to buy.
Indulge one labour more, my weary muse,
For Amiel: who can Amiel's praise refuse?
Of ancient race by birth, but nobler yet
In his own worth, and without title great:
The sanhedrim long time as chief he rul'd,
Their reason guided, and their passion cool'd:
So dextrous was he in the crown's defence,
So form'd to speak a loyal nation's sense,
That, as their band was Israel's tribes in small,
So fit was he to represent them all.

Now raſher charioteers the ſeat aſcend,
Whoſe looſe careers his ſteady ſkill commend:
They, like th' unequal ruler of the day,
Miſguide the ſeaſons, and miſtake the way;
While he withdrawn at their mad labors ſmiles,
And ſafe enjoys the ſabbath of his toils.

These were the chief, a ſmall but faithful band
Of worthies, in the breach who dar'd to ſtand,
And tempt th' united fury of the land,
With grief they view'd ſuch powerful engines bent,
To batter down the lawful government.
A numerous faction, with pretended frights,
In ſanhedrims to plume the regal rights;
The true ſucceſſor from the court remov'd;
The plot, by hireling witneſſes, improv'd.
Theſe ills they ſaw, and, as their duty bound,
They ſhew'd the king the danger of the wound;
That no conceſſions from the throne wou'd pleaſe,
But lenitives fomented the diſeaſe:
That Abſalom, ambitious of the crown,
Was made the lure to draw the people down:
That falſe Achitophel's pernicious hate
Had turn'd the plot to ruin church and ſtate:
The council violent, the rabble worſe:
That Shimei taught Jeruſalem to curſe.

With

With all theſe loads of injuries oppreſt,
And long revolving in his careful breaſt
The event of things, at laſt his patience tir'd,
Thus, from his royal throne, by heaven inſpir'd,
The god-like David ſpoke; with awful fear
His train their Maker in their maſter hear.

Thus long have I by native mercy ſway'd,
My wrongs diſſembled, my revenge delay'd:
So willing to forgive the offending age;
So much the father did the king aſſuage.
But now ſo far my clemency they ſlight,
The offenders queſtion my forgiving right,
That one was made for many, they contend;
But 'tis to rule; for that's a monarch's end.
They call my tenderneſs of blood, my fear:
Tho manly tempers can the longeſt bear.
Yet ſince they will divert my native courſe,
'Tis time to ſhew I am not good by force.
Thoſe heap'd affronts that haughty ſubjects bring,
Are burdens for a camel, not a king.
Kings are the public pillars of the ſtate,
Born to ſuſtain and prop the nation's weight:
If my young Sampſon will pretend a call
To ſhake the column, let him ſhare the fall:

But oh, that yet he would repent and live!
How eaſy 'tis for parents to forgive!
With how few tears a pardon might be won
From nature, pleading for a darling ſon!
Poor, pitied youth, by my paternal care,
Rais'd up to all the height his frame could bear!
Had God ordain'd his fate for empire born,
He would have given his ſoul another turn:
Gull'd with a patriot's name, whoſe modern ſenſe
Is one that would by law ſupplant his prince;
The people's brave, the politician's tool;
Never was patriot yet, but was a fool.
Whence comes it, that religion and the laws
Should more be Abſalom's than David's cauſe?
His old inſtructor ere he loſt his place,
Was never thought indu'd with ſo much grace.
Good heavens, how faction can a patriot paint!
My rebel ever proves my people's ſaint.
Would they impoſe an heir upon the throne,
Let ſanhedrims be taught to give their own.
A king's at leaſt a part of government;
And mine as requiſite as their conſent:
Without my leave a future king to chuſe,
Infers a right the preſent to depoſe.
True, they petition me to approve their choice:
But Eſau's hands ſuit ill with Jacob's voice.

My pious ſubjects for my ſafety pray;
Which to ſecure they take my power away.
From plots and treaſons heaven preſerve my years,
But ſave me moſt from my petitioners.
Unſatiate as the barren womb or grave;
God cannot grant ſo much as they can crave.
What then is left, but with a jealous eye
To guard the ſmall remains of royalty?
The law ſhall ſtill direct my peaceful ſway,
And the ſame law teach rebels to obey:
Votes ſhall no more eſtabliſh'd power controul,
Such votes as make a part exceed the whole.
No groundleſs clamors ſhall my friends remove,
Nor crowds have power to puniſh ere they prove;
For Gods and god-like kings their care expreſs,
Still to defend their ſervants in diſtreſs.
Oh, that my power to ſaving were confin'd!
Why am I forc'd, like heaven, againſt my mind,
To make examples of another kind?
Muſt I at length the ſword of juſtice draw?
Oh curſt effects of neceſſary law!
How ill my fear they by my mercy ſcan!
Beware the fury of a patient man.
Law they require, let law then ſhew her face;
They could not be content to look on grace,

Her hinder parts, but with a daring eye
To tempt the terror of her front and die.
By their own arts 'tis righteously decreed,
Those dire artificers of death shall bleed.
Against themselves their witnesses will swear,
'Till viper-like their mother plot they tear;
And suck for nutriment that bloody gore,
Which was their principle of life before.
Their Belial with their Beelzebub will fight:
Thus on my foes, my foes shall do me right.
Nor doubt th' event: for factious crowds engage,
In their first onset, all their brutal rage.
Then let 'em take an unresisted course:
Retire, and traverse, and delude their force:
But when they stand all breathless, urge the fight,
And rise upon them with redoubled might:
For lawful power is still superior found;
When long driv'n back at length it stands the ground.

He said: Th' Almighty nodding gave consent;
And peals of thunder shook the firmament.
Henceforth a series of new time began,
The mighty years in long procession ran:
Once more the god-like David was restor'd,
And willing nations knew their lawful lord.

*

ABSALOM

AND

ACHITOPHEL.

PART II.

TO THE

READER.

IN the year 1680 Mr. Dryden undertook the poem of Abſalom and Achitophel, upon the deſire of king Charles the ſecond. The performance was applauded by every one; and ſeveral perſons preſſing him to write a ſecond part, he, upon declining it himſelf, ſpoke to Mr. Tate to write one, and gave him his advice in the direction of it; and that part beginning with

" Next theſe, a troop of buſy ſpirits preſs,"

and ending with

" To talk like Doeg, and to write like thee."

containing near two hundred verſes, were intirely Mr. Dryden's compoſitions, beſides ſome touches in other places.

ABSALOM

AND

ACHITOPHEL.

SINCE men like beasts each other's prey were made,
Since trade began, and priesthood grew a trade,
Since realms were form'd, none sure so curst as those
That madly their own happiness oppose;
There heaven itself and god-like kings, in vain
Shower down the manna of a gentle reign;

While pamper'd crowds to mad ſedition run,
And monarchs by indulgence are undone.
Thus David's clemency was fatal grown,
While wealthy faction aw'd the wanting throne.
For now their ſovereign's orders to contemn
Was held the charter of Jeruſalem,
His rights to invade, his tributes to refuſe,
A privilege peculiar to the Jews;
As if from heav'nly call this licence fell,
And Jacob's ſeed were choſen to rebel!
Achitophel with triumph ſees his crimes
Thus ſuited to the madneſs of the times;
And Abſalom, to make his hopes ſucceed,
Of flattering charms no longer ſtands in need;
While fond of change, tho ne'er ſo dearly bought,
Our tribes outſtrip the youth's ambitious thought,
His ſwifteſt hopes with ſwifter homage meet,
And crowd their ſervile necks beneath his feet.
Thus to his aid while preſſing tides repair,
He mounts and ſpreads his ſtreamers in the air.
The charms of empire might his youth miſlead,
But what can our beſotted Iſrael plead?
Sway'd by a monarch, whoſe ſerene command
Seems half the bleſſing of our promis'd land.
Whoſe only grievance is exceſs of eaſe;
Freedom our pain, and plenty our diſeaſe!

Yet as all folly would lay claim to ſenſe,
And wickedneſs ne'er wanted a pretence,
With arguments they'd make their treaſon good,
And righteous David's ſelf with ſlanders load:
That arts of foreign ſway he did affect,
And guilty Jebuſites from law protect,
Whoſe very chiefs, convict, were never freed,
Nay we have ſeen their ſacrificers bleed!
Accuſers infamy is urg'd in vain,
While in the bounds of ſenſe they did contain,
But ſoon they launcht into the unfathom'd tide,
And in the depths they knew diſdain'd to ride.
For probable diſcoveries to diſpenſe,
Was thought below a penſion'd evidence;
Mere truth was dull, nor ſuited with the port
Of pamper'd Corah when advanc'd to court.
No leſs than wonders now they will impoſe,
And projects void of grace or ſenſe diſcloſe.
Such was the change on pious Michal brought,
Michal that ne'er was cruel even in thought,
The beſt of queens, and moſt obedient wife,
Impeach'd of curſt deſigns on David's life!
His life, the theme of her eternal prayer,
'Tis ſcarce ſo much his guardian angels care.
Not ſummer morns ſuch mildneſs can diſcloſe,
The Hermon lilly, nor the Sharon roſe.

Neglecting each vain pomp of majesty,
Transported Michal feeds her thoughts on high.
She lives with angels, and as angels do,
Quits heaven sometimes to bless the world below.
Where, cherisht by her bounties plenteous spring,
Reviving widows smile, and orphans sing.
Oh! when rebellious Israel's crimes at height,
Are threatned with her Lord's approaching fate,
The piety of Michal then remain
In heaven's remembrance, and prolong his reign.

Less desolation did the pest pursue,
That from Dan's limits to Beersheba slew,
Less fatal the repeated wars of Tyre,
And less Jerusalem's avenging fire.
With gentler terror these our state o'er-ran,
Than since our evidencing days began!
On every cheek a pale confusion sat,
Continu'd fear beyond the worst of fate!
Trust was no more, art, science, useless made,
All occupations lost but Corah's trade.
Mean while a guard on modest Corah wait,
If not for safety, needful yet for state.
Well might he deem each peer and prince his slave,
And lord it o'er the tribes which he could save:
Even vice in him was virtue---what sad fate
But for his honesty had seiz'd our state?

And with what tyranny had we been curſt,
Had Corah never prov'd a villain firſt?
T' have told his knowlege of the intrigue in groſs,
Had been, alas, to our deponent's loſs:
The travell'd Levite had the experience got,
To huſband well, and make the beſt of's plot;
And therefore like an evidence of ſkill,
With wiſe reſerves ſecur'd his penſion ſtill;
Nor quite of future power himſelf bereft,
But limbos large for unbelievers left.
And now his writ ſuch reverence had got,
'Twas worſe than plotting to ſuſpect his plot.
Some were ſo well convinc'd, they made no doubt
Themſelves to help the founder'd ſwearers out.
Some had their ſenſe impos'd on by their fear,
But more for intereſt ſake believe and ſwear:
Even to that height with ſome the frenzy grew,
They rag'd to find their danger not prove true.
Yet, than all theſe a viler crew remain,
Who with Achitophel the cry maintain;
Not urg'd by fear, nor thro miſguided ſenſe,
Blind zeal and ſtarving need had ſome pretence,
But for the good old cauſe that did excite
The original rebels wiles, revenge and ſpight.
Theſe raiſe the plot to have the ſcandal thrown
Upon the bright ſucceſſor of the crown,

Whoſe virtue with ſuch wrongs they had purſu'd,
As ſeem'd all hope of pardon to exclude.
Thus, while on private ends their zeal is built,
The cheated crowd applaud and ſhare their guilt.
Such practices as theſe, too groſs to lie
Long unobſerv'd by each diſcerning eye,
The more judicious Iſraelites unſpell'd,
Tho ſtill the charm the giddy rabble held,
Ev'n Abſalom amidſt the dazzling beams
Of empire, and ambition's flattering dreams,
Perceives the plot, too foul to be excus'd,
To aid deſigns, no leſs pernicious, us'd.
And, filial ſenſe yet ſtriving in his breaſt,
Thus to Achitophel his doubts expreſt,
Why are my thoughts upon a crown employ'd,
Which once obtain'd can be but half enjoy'd?
Not ſo when virtue did my arms require,
And to my father's wars I flew intire.
My regal power how will my foes reſent,
When I myſelf have ſcarce my own conſent?
Give me a ſon's unblemiſh'd truth again,
Or quench the ſparks of duty that remain.
How ſlight to force a throne that legions guard
The taſk to me; to prove unjuſt, how hard!
And if th' imagin'd guilt thus wound my thought,
What will it when the tragic ſcene is wrought?

Dire war muſt firſt be conjur'd from below,
The realm we'd rule we firſt muſt overthrow;
And when the civil furies are on wing
That blind and undiſtinguiſh'd ſlaughters fling,
Who knows what impious chance may reach the king?
Oh! rather let me periſh in the ſtrife,
Than have my crown the price of David's life!
Or if the tempeſt of the war he ſtand,
In peace, ſome vile officious villain's hand
His ſoul's anointed temple may invade,
Or preſt by clamorous crowds, my ſelf be made
His murtherer; rebellious crowds, whoſe guilt
Shall dread his vengeance till his blood be ſpilt.
Which if my filial tenderneſs oppoſe,
Since to the empire by their arms I roſe,
Thoſe very arms on me ſhall be employ'd,
A new uſurper crown'd, and I deſtroy'd:
The ſame pretence of public good will hold,
And new Achitophels be found as bold
To urge the needful change, perhaps the old.
He ſaid. The ſtateſman with a ſmile replies,
A ſmile that did his riſing ſpleen diſguiſe,
My thoughts preſum'd our labors at an end,
And are we ſtill with conſcience to contend?

Whoſe want in kings, as needful is allow'd,
As 'tis for them to find it in the crowd.
Far in the doubtful paſſage you are gone,
And only can be ſafe by preſſing on.
The crown's true heir, a prince ſevere and wiſe,
Has view'd your motions long with jealous eyes:
Your perſon's charms, your more prevailing arts,
And mark'd your progreſs in the people's hearts,
Whoſe patience is th' effect of ſtinted power,
But treaſures vengeance for the fatal hour,
And if remote the peril he can bring,
Your preſent danger's greater from the king.
Let not a parent's name deceive your ſenſe,
Nor truſt the father in a jealous prince!
Your trivial faults if he could ſo reſent,
To doom you little leſs than baniſhment,
What rage muſt your preſumption ſince inſpire?
Againſt his orders your return from Tyre?
Nor only ſo, but with a pomp more high,
And open court of popularity,
The factious tribes---And this reproof from thee?
The prince replies, O ſtateſman's winding ſkill,
They firſt condemn that firſt advis'd the ill!
Illuſtrious youth, return'd Achitophel,
Miſconſtrue not the words that mean you well.

The courſe you ſteer I worthy blame conclude,
But 'tis becauſe you leave it unpurſu'd.
A monarch's crown with fate ſurrounded lies,
Who reach, lay hold on death that miſs the prize.
Did you for this expoſe yourſelf to ſhow,
And to the crowd bow popularly low!
For this your glorious progreſs next ordain,
With chariots, horſemen, and a numerous train.
With fame before you like the morning ſtar,
And ſhouts of joy ſaluting from afar?
Oh from the heights you've reach'd but take a view,
Scarce leading Lucifer could fall like you!
And muſt I here my ſhipwreck'd arts bemoan?
Have I for this ſo oft made Iſrael groan?
Your ſingle intereſt with the nation weigh'd,
And turn'd the ſcale where your deſires were laid!
Even when at helm a courſe ſo dangerous mov'd
To land your hopes as my removal prov'd.

I not diſpute, the royal youth replies,
The known perfection of your policies,
Nor in Achitophel yet grudge or blame,
The privilege that ſtateſmen ever claim;
Who private intereſt never yet purſu'd,
But ſtill pretended 'twas for other's good:
What politician yet e'er ſcap'd his fate,
Who ſaving his own neck not ſav'd the ſtate?

From hence on ev'ry hum'rous wind that veer'd,
With ſhifted ſails a ſeveral courſe you ſteer'd.
What from a ſway did David e'er purſue,
That ſeem'd like abſolute, but ſprung from you?
Who at your inſtance quaſht each penal law,
That kept diſſenting factious Jews in awe;
And who ſuſpends fixt laws, may abrogate,
That done, form new, and ſo enſlave the ſtate.
Even property, whoſe champion now you ſtand,
And ſeem for this the idol of the land,
Did ne'er ſuſtain ſuch violence before,
As when your counſel ſhut the royal ſtore;
Advice, that ruin to whole tribes procur'd,
But ſecret kept till your own banks ſecur'd.
Recount with this the tripple cov'nant broke,
And Iſrael fitted for a foreign yoke;
Nor here your counſels fatal progreſs ſtaid,
But ſent our levied powers to Pharaoh's aid.
Hence Tyre and Iſrael, low in ruins laid,
And Egypt once their ſcorn, their common terror made.
Even yet of ſuch a ſeaſon can we dream,
When royal rights you made your darling theme.
For power unlimited could reaſons draw,
And place prerogative above the law;

Which

Which on your fall from office grew unjuſt,
The laws made king, the king a ſlave in truſt:
Whom with ſtate-craft, to intereſt only true,
You now accuſe of ills contriv'd by you.
To this hell's agent—royal youth, fix here,
Let intereſt be the ſtar by which you ſteer.
Hence to repoſe your truſt in me was wiſe,
Whoſe intereſt moſt in your advancement lies.
A tye ſo firm as always will avail,
When friendſhip, nature, and religion fail;
On our's the ſafety of the crowd depends,
Secure the crowd, and we obtain our ends,
Whom I will cauſe ſo far our guilt to ſhare,
Till they are made our champions by their fear,
What oppoſition can your rival bring,
While ſanhedrims are jealous of the king?
His ſtrength as yet in David's friendſhip lies,
And what can David's ſelf without ſupplies?
Who with excluſive bills muſt now diſpenſe,
Debar the heir, or ſtarve in his defence.
Conditions which our elders ne'er will quit,
And David's juſtice never can admit.
Or forc'd by wants his brother to betray,
To your ambition next he clears the way;

For if succession once to nought they bring,
Their next advance removes the present king:
Persisting else his senates to dissolve,
In equal hazard shall his reign involve.
Our tribes, whom Pharaoh's power so much alarms,
Shall rise without their prince t'oppose his arms;
Nor boots it on what cause at first they join,
Their troops once up, are tools for our design.
At least such subtle covenants shall be made,
Till peace itself is war in masquerade.
Associations of mysterious sense,
Against, but seeming for, the king's defence:
Ev'n on their courts of justice fetters draw,
And from our agents muzzle up their law.
By which a conquest if we fail to make,
'Tis a drawn game at worst, and we secure our stake.
He said, and for the dire success depends
On various sects, by common guilt made friends.
Whose heads, though ne'er so diff'ring in their creed,
I'th' point of treason yet were well agreed.
Amongst these, extorting Ishban first appears,
Pursu'd by a meager troop of bankrupt heirs.
Blest times when Ishban, he whose occupation
So long has been to cheat, reforms the nation!

Iſhban of conſcience ſuited to his trade,
As good a ſaint as uſurer ever made.
Yet Mammon has not ſo engroſt him quite,
But Belial lays as large a claim of ſpight;
Who, for thoſe pardons from his prince he draws,
Returns reproaches, and cries up the cauſe.
That year in which the city he did ſway,
He left rebellion in a hopeful way.
Yet his ambition once was found ſo bold,
To offer talents of extorted gold;
Could David's wants have ſo been brib'd, to ſhame
And ſcandalize our peerage with his name;
For which, his dear ſedition he'd forſwear,
And e'en turn loyal to be made a peer.
Next him, let railing Rabſheka have place,
So full of zeal he has no need of grace;
A ſaint that can both fleſh and ſpirit uſe,
Alike haunt conventicles and the ſtews:
Of whom the queſtion difficult appears,
If moſt i' th' preachers or the bawds arrears.
What caution cou'd appear too much in him
That keeps the treaſure of Jeruſalem!
Let David's brother but approach the town,
Double our guards, he cries, we are undone.

Proteſting that he dares not ſleep in's bed
Leſt he ſhou'd riſe next morn without his head.
" Next theſe, a troop of buſy ſpirits preſs,
Of little fortunes, and of conſcience leſs;
With them the tribe, whoſe luxury had drain'd
Their banks, in former ſequeſtrations gain'd;
Who rich and great by paſt rebellions grew,
And long to fiſh the troubled ſtreams anew.
Some future hopes, ſome preſent payment draws,
To ſell their conſcience and eſpouſe the cauſe.
Such ſtipends thoſe vile hirelings beſt befit,
Prieſts without grace, and poets without wit.
Shall that falſe Hebronite eſcape our curſe,
Judas that keeps the rebels penſion-purſe;
Judas that pays the treaſon-writer's fee,
Judas that well deſerves his nameſake's tree;
Who at Jeruſalem's own gates erects
His college for a nurſery of ſects.
Young prophets with an early care ſecures,
And with the dung of his own arts manures.
What have the men of Hebron here to do?
What part in Iſrael's promis'd land have you!
Here Phaleg the lay-Hebronite is come,
'Cauſe like the reſt he cou'd not live at home;

Who from his own poſſeſſions cou'd not drain
An omer even of Hebronitiſh grain,
Here ſtruts it like a patriot, and talks high
Of injur'd ſubjects, alter'd property:
An emblem of that buzzing inſect juſt,
That mounts the wheel, and thinks ſhe raiſes duſt.
Can dry bones live? or ſkeletons produce
The vital warmth of cuckoldizing juice?
Slim Phaleg could, and at the table fed,
Return'd the grateful product to the bed.
A waiting-man to trav'ling nobles choſe,
He his own laws wou'd ſaucily impoſe,
'Till baſtinado'd back again he went,
To learn thoſe manners he to teach was ſent.
Chaſtiz'd he ought to have retreated home,
But he reads politics to Abſalom.
For never Hebronite, tho kick'd and ſcorn'd,
To his own country willingly return'd.
—But leaving famiſh'd Phaleg to be fed,
And to talk treaſon for his daily bread,
Let Hebron, nay let hell produce a man
So made for miſchief as Ben-Jochanan,
A Jew of humble parentage was he,
By trade a Levite, tho of low degree:

His pride no higher than the desk aſpir'd,
But for the drudgery of prieſts was hir'd
To read and pray in linen ephod brave,
And pick up ſingle ſhekels from the grave.
Married at laſt, but finding charge come faſter,
He could not live by God, but chang'd his maſter:
Inſpir'd by want, was made a factious tool,
They got a villain, and we loſt a fool.
Still violent, whatever cauſe he took,
But moſt againſt the party he forſook.
For renegadoes, who ne'er turn by halves,
Are bound in conſcience to be double knaves.
So this proſe-prophet took moſt monſtrous pains,
To let his maſters ſee he earn'd his gains.
But as the devil owes all his imps a ſhame,
He choſe the apoſtate for his proper theme;
With little pains he made the picture true,
And from reflexion took the rogue he drew.
A wondrous work, to prove the Jewiſh nation
In every age a murmuring generation;
To trace 'em from their infancy of ſinning,
And ſhew 'em factious from their firſt beginning.
To prove they could rebel, and rail, and mock,
Much to the credit of the choſen flock;
A ſtrong authority which muſt convince,
That ſaints own no allegiance to their prince.

As 'tis a leading-card to make a whore,
To prove her mother had turn'd up before.
But, tell me, did the drunken patriarch bleſs
The ſon that ſhew'd his father's nakedneſs?
Such thanks the preſent church thy pen will give,
Which proves rebellion was ſo primitive.
Muſt ancient failings be examples made?
Then murtherers from Cain may learn their trade.
As thou the heathen and the ſaint haſt drawn,
Methinks th' apoſtate was the better man:
And thy hot father, waving my reſpect,
Not of a mother-church but of a ſect.
And ſuch he needs muſt be of thy inditing,
This comes of drinking aſſes milk and writing,
If Balack ſhould be call'd to leave his place,
As profit is the loudeſt call of grace,
His temple diſpoſſeſs'd of one, would be
Repleniſh'd with ſeven devils more by thee.
Levi, thou art a load, I'll lay thee down,
And ſhew rebellion bare, without a gown;
Poor ſlaves in metre, dull and addle-pated,
Who rhime below ev'n David's pſalms tranſlated,
Some in my ſpeedy pace I muſt out-run,
As lame Mephibоſheth the wiſard's ſon:

To make quick way I'll leap o'er heavy blocks,
Shun rotten Uzza as I would the pox;
And haſten Og and Doeg to rehearſe,
Two fools that crutch their feeble ſenſe on verſe;
Who by my muſe to all ſucceeding times,
Shall live in ſpight of their own dogrel rhimes.

Doeg, tho without knowing how or why,
Made ſtill a blund'ring kind of melody;
Spurr'd boldly on, and daſh'd thro thick and thin,
Through ſenſe and nonſenſe, never out nor in;
Free from all meaning, whether good or bad,
And in one word, heroically mad:
He was too warm on picking-work to dwell,
But fagotted his notions as they fell,
And if they rhim'd and rattl'd, all was well,
Spiteful he is not, tho he wrote a ſatyr,
For ſtill there goes ſome thinking to ill-nature:
He needs no more than birds and beaſts to think,
All his occaſions are to eat and drink.
If he call rogue and raſcal from a garrat,
He means you no more miſchief than a parrat:
The words for friend and foe alike were made,
To fetter 'em in verſe is all his trade.
For almonds he'll cry whore to his own mother:
And call young Abſalom king David's brother.

Let him be gallows-free by my conſent,
And nothing ſuffer ſince he nothing meant;
Hanging ſuppoſes human ſoul and reaſon,
This animal's below committing treaſon:
Shall he be hang'd who never could rebel?
That's a preferment for Achitophel.
The woman that committed buggary,
Was rightly ſentenc'd by the law to die;
But 'twas hard fate that to the gallows led
The dog that never heard the ſtatute read.
Railing in other men may be a crime,
But ought to paſs for mere inſtinct in him:
Inſtinct he follows and no farther knows,
For to write verſe with him is to tranſproſe.
'Twere pity treaſon at his door to lay,
Who makes heaven's gate a lock to its own key:
Let him rail on, let his invective muſe
Have four and twenty letters to abuſe,
Which, if he jumbles to one line of ſenſe,
Indict him of a capital offence.
In fire-works give him leave to vent his ſpight,
Thoſe are the only ſerpents he can write;
The height of his ambition is, we know,
But to be maſter of a puppet-ſhow,
On that one ſtage his works may yet appear,
And a month's harveſt keeps him all the year.

Now ſtop your noſes, readers, all and ſome,
For here's a tun of midnight-work to come,
Og from a treaſon-tavern rowling home.
Round as a globe, and liquor'd every chink,
Goodly and great he ſails behind his link;
With all this bulk there's nothing loſt in Og,
For every inch that is not fool is rogue:
A monſtrous maſs of foul corrupted matter,
As all the devils had ſpew'd to make the batter,
When wine has giv'n him courage to blaſpheme,
He curſes God, but God before curſt him;
And if man could have reaſon, none has more,
That made his paunch ſo rich and him ſo poor.
With wealth he was not truſted, for heav'n knew
What 'twas of old to pamper up a Jew;
To what would he on quail and pheaſant ſwell,
That even on tripe and carrion could rebel?
But tho heaven made him poor, with rever'nce ſpeaking,
He never was a poet of God's making;
The midwife laid her hand on his thick ſkull,
With this prophetic bleſſing——be thou dull;
Drink, ſwear and roar, forbear no lewd delight
Fit for thy bulk, do any thing but write:
Thou art of laſting make, like thoughtleſs men,
A ſtrong nativity---but for the pen;

Eat opium, mingle arſenic in thy drink,
Still thou mayſt live, avoiding pen and ink.
I ſee, I ſee, 'tis counſel given in vain,
For treaſon botcht in rhime will be thy bane,
Rhime is the rock on which thou art to wreck,
'Tis fatal to thy fame and to thy neck:
Why ſhould thy metre good king David blaſt?
A pſalm of his will ſurely be thy laſt.
Dar'ſt thou preſume in verſe to meet thy foes,
Thou whom the penny pamphlet foil'd in proſe?
Doeg, whom God for mankind's mirth has made,
O'er-tops thy talent in thy very trade;
Doeg to thee, thy paintings are ſo coarſe,
A poet is, tho he's the poet's horſe.
A double nooſe thou on thy neck doſt pull
For writing treaſon, and for writing dull;
To die for faction is a common evil,
But to be hang'd for nonſenſe is the devil:
Hadſt thou the glories of thy king expreſt,
Thy praiſes had been ſatyr at the beſt;
But thou in clumſy verſe, unlickt, unpointed,
Haſt ſhamfully defy'd the Lord's anointed:
I will not rake the dunghill of thy crimes,
For who would read thy life that reads thy rhymes?
But of king David's foes, be this the doom,
May all be like the young man Abſalom;

And for my foes may this their bleſſing be,
To talk like Doeg, and to write like thee."
Achitophel each rank, degree, and age,
For various ends neglects not to engage;
The wiſe and rich for purſe and counſel brought,
The fools and beggars for their number ſought:
Who yet not only on the town depends,
For even in court the faction had its friends;
Theſe thought the places they poſſeſt too ſmall,
And in their hearts wiſht court and king to fall:
Whoſe names the muſe diſdaining, holds i'th' dark,
Thruſt in the villain herd without a mark;
With paraſites and libel-ſpawning imps,
Intriguing ſops, dull jeſters, and worſe pimps.
Diſdain the raſcal rabble to purſue,
Their ſet cabals are yet a viler crew;
See where involv'd in common ſmoak they ſit;
Some for our mirth, ſome for our ſatyr fit:
Theſe gloomy, thoughtful, and on miſchief bent,
While thoſe for mere good fellowſhip frequent
Th' appointed club, can let ſedition paſs,
Senſe, nonſenſe, any thing to employ the glaſs;
And who believe in their dull honeſt hearts,
The reſt talk treaſon but to ſhew their parts;
Who ne'er had wit or will for miſchief yet,
But pleas'd to be reputed of a ſet.

But in the ſacred annals of our plot,
Induſtrious AROD never be forgot:
The labours of this midnight-magiſtrate,
May vie with Corah's to preſerve the ſtate.
In ſearch of arms he fail'd not to lay hold
On war's moſt powerful dang'rous weapon, gold.
And laſt, to take from Jebuſites all odds,
Their altars pillag'd, ſtole their very gods;
Oft would he cry, when treaſure he ſurpriz'd,
'Tis Baaliſh gold in David's coin diſguis'd.
Which to his houſe with richer reliques came,
While lumber idols only fed the flame:
For our wiſe rabble ne'er took pains t' enquire,
What 'twas he burnt, ſo 't made a rouſing fire.
With which our elder was enricht no more
Than falſe Gehazi with the Syrian's ſtore;
So poor, that when our chuſing-tribes were met,
Ev'n for his ſtinking votes he ran in debt;
For meat the wicked, and as authors think,
The ſaints he chous'd for his electing drink;
Thus ev'ry ſhift and ſubtle method paſt,
And all to be no Zaken at the laſt.

Now, rais'd on Tyre's ſaid ruins, Pharaoh's pride
Soar'd high, his legions threatning far and wide;
As when a batt'ring ſtorm ingendred high,
By winds upheld, hangs hov'ring in the ſky,

Is gaz'd upon by ev'ry trembling ſwain,
This for his vineyard fears, and that his grain;
For blooming plants, and flow'rs new opening, theſe
For lambs yean'd lately, and far-lab'ring bees:
To guard his ſtock each to the gods does call,
Uncertain where the fire-charg'd clouds will fall:
Ev'n ſo the doubtful nations watch his arms,
With terror each expecting his alarms.
Where, Judah, where was now thy lyon's roar?
Thou only couldſt the captive lands reſtore;
But thou, with inbred broils and faction preſt,
From Egypt need'ſt a guardian with the reſt.
Thy prince from ſanhedrims no truſt allow'd,
Too much the repreſenters of the crowd,
Who for their own defence give no ſupply,
But what the crown's prerogatives muſt buy:
As if their monarch's rights to violate
More needful were, than to preſerve the ſtate!
From preſent dangers they divert their care,
And all their fears are of the royal heir;
Whom now the reigning malice of his foes,
Unjudg'd would ſentence, and e'er crown'd depoſe.
Religion the pretence, but their decree
To bar his reign, whate'er his faith ſhall be!
By ſanhedrims and clam'rous crowds thus preſt,
What paſſions rent the righteous David's breaſt?

Who knows not how t' oppoſe or to comply,
Unjuſt to grant and dangerous to deny!
How near in this dark juncture Iſrael's fate,
Whoſe peace one ſole expedient could create,
Which yet the extreameſt virtue did require,
Even of that prince whoſe downfal they conſpire!
His abſence David does with tears adviſe
To appeaſe their rage. Undaunted he complies;
Thus he who prodigal of blood and eaſe,
A royal life expos'd to winds and ſeas,
At once contending with the waves and fire,
And heading danger in the wars of Tyre,
Inglorious now forſakes his native ſand,
And like an exile quits the promis'd land!
Our monarch ſcarce from preſſing tears refrains,
And painfully his royal ſtate maintains,
Who now embracing on the extreameſt ſhore
Almoſt revokes what he injoin'd before:
Concludes at laſt more truſt to be allow'd
To ſtorms and ſeas than to the raging crowd!
Forbear, raſh muſe, the parting ſcene to draw,
With ſilence charm'd as deep as their's that ſaw!
Not only our attending nobles weep,
But hardy ſailors ſwell with tears the deep!
The tide reſtrain'd her courſe, and more amaz'd,
The twin-ſtars on the royal brothers gaz'd:

While this ſole fear-----
Does trouble to our ſuffering hero bring,
Leſt next the popular rage oppreſs the king!
Thus parting, each for the other's danger griev'd,
The ſhore the king, and ſeas the prince receiv'd.
Go, injur'd hero, while propitious gales,
Soft as thy conſort's breath, inſpire thy ſails;
Well may ſhe truſt her beauties on a flood,
Where thy triumphant fleets ſo oft have rode!
Safe on thy breaſt reclin'd her reſt be deep,
Rock'd like a Nereid by the waves aſleep;
While happieſt dreams her fancy entertain,
And to Elyſian fields convert the main!
Go, injur'd hero, while the ſhores of Tyre
At thy approach ſo ſilent ſhall admire,
Who on thy thunder ſtill their thoughts employ,
And greet thy landing with a trembling joy.

On heroes thus the prophet's fate is thrown,
Admir'd by every nation but their own;
Yet while our factious Jews his worth deny,
Their aking conſcience gives their tongue the lie.
Even in the worſt of men the nobleſt parts
Confeſs him, and he triumphs in their hearts,
Whom to his king the beſt reſpects commend
Of ſubject, ſoldier, kinſman, prince and friend;

All

All ſacred names of moſt divine eſteem,
And to perfection all ſuſtain'd by him,
Wiſe, juſt, and conſtant, courtly without art,
Swift to diſcern and to reward deſert;
No hour of his in fruitleſs eaſe deſtroy'd,
But on the nobleſt ſubjects ſtill employ'd:
Whoſe ſteddy ſoul ne'er learnt to ſeparate
Between his monarch's intereſt and the ſtate,
But heaps thoſe bleſſings on the royal head,
Which he well knows muſt be on ſubjects ſhed.
On what pretence could then the vulgar rage
Againſt his worth, and native rights engage?
Religious fears their argument are made,
Religious fears his ſacred rights invade!
Of future ſuperſtition they complain,
And jebuſitic worſhip in his reign:
With ſuch alarms his foes the crowd deceive,
With dangers fright which not themſelves believe.
Since nothing can our ſacred rites remove,
Whate'er the faith of the ſucceſſor prove:
Our Jews their ark ſhall undiſturb'd retain,
At leaſt while their religion is their gain,
Who know by old experience Baal's commands
Not only claim'd their conſcience but their lands;

They grudge God's tythes, how therefore ſhall
they yield
An idol full poſſeſſion of the field?
Grant ſuch a prince enthron'd, we muſt confeſs
The people's ſufferings than that monarch's leſs,
Who muſt to hard conditions ſtill be bound,
And for his quiet with the crowd compound;
Or ſhould his thoughts to tyranny incline,
Where are the means to compaſs the deſign?
Our crown's revenues are too ſhort a ſtore,
And jealous ſanhedrims would give no more.
As vain our fears of Egypt's potent aid,
Not ſo has Pharaoh learnt ambition's trade,
Nor ever with ſuch meaſures can comply,
As ſhock the common rules of policy;
None dread like him the growth of Iſrael's king,
And he alone ſufficient aids can bring;
Who knows that prince to Egypt can give law,
That on our ſtubborn tribes his yoke could draw,
At ſuch profound expence he has not ſtood,
Nor dy'd for this his hands ſo deep in blood;
Would ne'er thro wrong and right his progreſs take,
Grudge his own reſt, and keep the world awake,
To fix a lawleſs prince on Judah's throne,
Firſt to invade our rights, and then his own;

His dear-gain'd conquests cheaply to despoil,
And reap the harvest of his crimes and toil.
We grant his wealth vast as our ocean's sand,
And curse its fatal influence on our land,
Which our brib'd Jews so numerously partake,
That even an host his pensioners would make;
From these deceivers our divisions spring,
Our weakness, and the growth of Egypt's king;
These with pretended friendship to the state,
Our crowd's suspicion of their prince create,
Both pleas'd and frighten'd with the specious cry,
To guard their sacred rights and property;
To ruin, thus the chosen flock are sold,
While wolves are ta'en for guardians of the fold;
Seduc'd by these we groundlessly complain,
And loath the manna of a gentle reign:
Thus our forefathers crooked paths are trod,
We trust our prince no more than they their God.
But all in vain our reasoning prophets preach,
To those whom sad experience ne'er could teach,
Who can commence new broils in bleeding scars,
And fresh remembrance of intestine wars;
When the same houshold mortal foes did yield,
And brothers stain'd with brothers blood the field;

When ſons curſt ſteel the fathers gore did ſtain,
And mothers mourn'd for ſons by fathers ſlain!
When thick as Egypt's locuſts on the ſand,
Our tribes lay ſlaughter'd thro the promis'd land,
Whoſe few ſurvivors with worſe fate remain,
To drag the bondage of a tyrant's reign:
Which ſcene of woes, unknowing we renew,
And madly, even thoſe ills we fear, purſue;
While Pharaoh laughs at our domeſtic broils,
And ſafely crowds his tents with nations ſpoils.
Yet our fierce ſanhedrim in reſtleſs rage,
Againſt our abſent heroe ſtill engage,
And chiefly urge, ſuch did their frenzy prove,
The only ſuit their prince forbids to move,
Which till obtain'd they ceaſe affairs of ſtate,
And real dangers wave for groundleſs hate.
Long David's patience waits relief to bring,
With all the indulgence of a lawful king,
Expecting till the troubled waves would ceaſe,
But found the raging billows ſtill increaſe.
The crowd, whoſe inſolence forbearance ſwells,
While he forgives too far, almoſt rebels.
At laſt his deep reſentments ſilence broke,
Th' imperial palace ſhook, while thus he ſpoke,
Then Juſtice wake, and Rigor take her time,
For lo! our mercy is become our crime.

While halting Puniſhment her ſtroke delays,
Our ſovereign right, heaven's ſacred truſt, decays?
For whoſe ſupport even ſubjects intereſt calls,
Wo! to that kingdom where the monarch falls.
That prince who yields the leaſt of regal ſway,
So far his people's freedom does betray.
Right lives by law, and law ſubſiſts by power;
Diſarm the ſhepherd, wolves the flock devour.
Hard lot of empire o'er a ſtubborn race,
Which heaven itſelf in vain has try'd with grace!
When will our reaſon's long-charm'd eyes uncloſe,
And Iſrael judge between her friends and foes?
When ſhall we ſee expir'd deceivers ſway,
And credit what our God and monarchs ſay?
Diſſembled patriots brib'd with Egypt's gold,
Even ſanhedrims in blind obedience hold;
Thoſe patriots falſhood in their actions ſee,
And judge by the pernicious fruit the tree;
If ought for which ſo loudly they declaim,
Religion, laws, and freedom, were their aim;
Our ſenates in due methods they had led,
To avoid thoſe miſchiefs which they ſeem'd to dread;
But firſt e'er yet they propt the ſinking ſtate,
To impeach and charge, as urg'd by private hate;

Proves that they ne'er believ'd the fears they preſt,
But barbarouſly deſtroy'd the nation's reſt!
O! whither will ungovern'd ſenates drive,
And to what bounds licentious votes arrive?
When their injuſtice we are preſs'd to ſhare,
The monarch urg'd to exclude the lawful heir;
Are princes thus diſtinguiſh'd from the crowd,
And this the privilege of royal blood?
But grant we ſhould confirm the wrongs they
preſs,
His ſufferings yet were than the people's leſs;
Condemn'd for life the murdering ſword to wield,
And on their heirs entail a bloody field:
Thus madly their own freedom they betray,
And for th' oppreſſion which they fear make way;
Succeſſion fix'd by heaven, the kingdom's bar,
Which once diſſolv'd, admits the flood of war;
Waſte, rapine, ſpoil, without th' aſſault begin,
And our mad tribes ſupplant the fence within.
Since then their good they will not underſtand,
'Tis time to take the monarch's power in hand;
Authority and force to join with ſkill,
And ſave the lunatics againſt their will.
The ſame rough means that ſwage the crowd,
appeaſe
Our ſenates raging with the crowd's diſeaſe.

Henceforth unbiaſs'd meaſures let them draw
From no falſe gloſs, but genuine text of law;
Nor urge thoſe crimes upon religion's ſcore,
Themſelves ſo much in Jebuſites abhor.
Whom laws convict, and only they, ſhall bleed,
Nor phariſees by phariſees be freed.
Impartial juſtice from our throne ſhall ſhower,
All ſhall have right, and we our ſov'reign power.
He ſaid, th' attendants heard with awful joy,
And glad preſages their fix'd thoughts employ;
From Hebron now the ſuffering heir return'd,
A realm that long with civil diſcord mourn'd;
Till his approach, like ſome arriving God,
Compos'd and heal'd the place of his abode;
The deluge check'd that to Judea ſpread,
And ſtop'd ſedition at the fountain's head.
Thus in forgiving David's paths he drives,
And chas'd from Iſrael, Iſrael's peace contrives.
The field confeſs'd his power in arms before,
And ſeas proclaim'd his triumphs to the ſhore;
As nobly has his ſway in Hebron ſhown,
How fit to inherit godlike David's throne.
Thro Sion's ſtreets his glad arrival's ſpread,
And conſcious faction ſhrinks her ſnaky head;

His train their ſufferings think o'erpaid to ſee
The crowds applauſe with virtue once agree.
Succeſs charms all, but zeal for worth diſtreſt
A virtue proper to the brave and beſt;
'Mongſt whom was Jothran, Jothran always bent
To ſerve the crown, and loyal by deſcent,
Whoſe conſtancy ſo firm, and conduct juſt,
Deſerv'd at once two royal maſters truſt;
Who Tyre's proud arms had manfully withſtood
On ſeas, and gather'd laurels from the flood;
Of learning yet, no portion was deny'd,
Friend to the muſes and the muſes pride.
Nor can Benaiah's worth forgotten lie,
Of ſteddy ſoul when public ſtorms were high;
Whoſe conduct while the Moor fierce onſets made,
Secur'd at once our honor and our trade.
Such were the chiefs who moſt his ſuff'rings mourn'd,
And view'd with ſilent joy the prince return'd;
While thoſe that ſought his abſence to betray,
Preſs firſt their nauſeous falſe reſpects to pay;
Him ſtill the officious hypocrites moleſt,
And with malicious duty break his reſt.
While real tranſports thus his friends employ,
And foes are loud in their diſſembled joy,

His triumphs ſo reſounded far and near,
Miſs'd not his young ambitious rival's ear;
And as when joyful hunters clam'rous train,
Some ſlumb'ring lyon wakes in Moab's plain,
Who oft had forc'd the bold aſſailants yield,
And ſcatter'd his purſuers thro the field,
Diſdaining, furls his mane and tears the ground,
His eyes enflaming all the deſart round,
With roar of ſeas directs his chaſers way,
Provokes from far, and dares them to the fray;
Such rage ſtorm'd now in Abſalom's fierce breaſt
Such indignation his fir'd eyes confeſt;
Where now was the inſtructor of his pride?
Slept the old pilot in ſo rough a tide?
Whoſe wiles had from the happy ſhore betray'd,
And thus on ſhelves the cred'lous youth convey'd;
In deep revolving thoughts he weighs his ſtate,
Secure of craft; nor doubts to baffle fate,
At leaſt, if his ſtorm'd bark muſt go adrift,
To baulk his charge, and for himſelf to ſhift,
In which his dextrous wit had oft been ſhown,
And in the wreck of kingdoms ſav'd his own;
But now with more than common danger preſt,
Of various reſolutions ſtands poſſeſt,
Perceives the crowd's unſtable zeal decay,
Leſt their recanting chief the cauſe betray,

Who on a father's grace his hopes may ground,
And for his pardon with their heads compound.
Him therefore e'er his fortune ſlip her time,
The ſtateſman plots t' engage in ſome bold crime
Paſt pardon, whether to attempt his bed,
Or threat with open arms the royal head,
Or other daring method, and unjuſt,
That may confirm him in the people's truſt.
But failing thus t' enſnare him, nor ſecure
How long his foil'd ambition may endure,
Plots next to lay him by as paſt his date,
And try ſome new pretender's luckier fate;
Whoſe hopes with equal toil he would purſue,
Nor cares what claimer's crown'd, except the true.
Wake Abſalom, approaching ruin ſhun,
And ſee, O ſee, for whom thou art undone!
How are thy honors and thy fame betray'd,
The property of deſp'rate villains made?
Loſt power and conſcious fears their crimes create,
And guilt in them was little leſs than fate;
But why ſhouldſt thou from every grievance free,
Forſake thy vineyards for their ſtormy ſea?
For thee did Canaan's milk and honey flow,
Love dreſs'd thy bowers, and laurels ſought thy brow,

Preferment, wealth and power thy vaſſals were,
And of a monarch all things but the care.
Oh ſhould our crimes again that curſe draw down,
And rebel-arms once more attempt the crown,
Sure ruin waits unhappy Abſalom,
Alike by conqueſt or defeat undone;
Who could relentleſs ſee ſuch youth and charms,
Expire with wretched fate in impious arms?
A prince ſo form'd with earth's and heaven's applauſe,
To triumph o'er crown'd heads in David's cauſe:
Or grant him victor, ſtill his hopes muſt fail,
Who conquering would not for himſelf prevail;
The faction whom he truſts for future ſway,
Him and the public would alike betray;
Amongſt themſelves divide the captive ſtate,
And found their hydra-empire in his fate!
Thus having beat the clouds with painful flight,
The pity'd youth with ſcepters in his ſight;
So have their cruel politics decreed,
Muſt by that crew that made him guilty, bleed!
For could their pride brook any prince's ſway,
Whom but mild David would they chuſe to obey?
Who once at ſuch a gentle reign repine,
The fall of monarchy itſelf deſign;

From hate to that their reformations ſpring,
And David not their grievance, but the king.
Seiz'd now with panic fear the faction lies,
Leſt this clear truth ſtrike Abſalom's charm'd eyes,
Leſt he perceive from long enchantment free,
What all beſide the flatter'd youth muſt ſee.
But whate'er doubts his troubled boſom ſwell,
Fair carriage ſtill became Achitophel.
Who now an envious feſtival enſtals,
And to ſurvey their ſtrength the faction calls,
Which fraud, religious worſhip too muſt gild;
But oh how weakly does ſedition build?
For lo! the royal mandate iſſues forth,
Daſhing at once their treaſon, zeal, and mirth!
So have I ſeen diſaſtrous chance invade,
Where careful emmits had their forage laid,
Whether fierce Vulcan's rage the furzy plain
Had ſeiz'd, engendred by ſome careleſs ſwain;
Or ſwelling Neptune lawleſs inroads made,
And to their cell of ſtore his flood convey'd;
The commonwealth broke up, diſtracted go,
And in wild haſte their loaded mates o'erthrow:
Even ſo our ſcatter'd gueſts confuſedly meet,
With boil'd, bak'd, roaſt, all juſtling in the ſtreet;

Dejecting all, and ruefully dismay'd,
For shekel without treat, or treason paid.
Sedition's dark eclipse now fainter shows,
More bright each hour the royal planet grows,
Of force the clouds of envy to disperse,
In kind conjunction of assisting stars.
Here, laboring muse, those glorious chiefs relate,
That turn'd the doubtful scale of David's fate;
The rest of that illustrious band rehearse,
Immortaliz'd in laurel'd Asaph's verse:
Hard task! yet will not I thy flight recal,
View heaven, and then enjoy thy glorious fall.
First write Bezaliel, whose illustrious name
Forestals our praise, and gives his poet fame.
The Kenites rocky province his command,
A barren limb of fertile Canaan's land;
Which for its generous natives yet could be
Held worthy such a president as he!
Bezaliel with each grace and virtue fraught,
Serene his looks; serene his life and thought,
On whom so largely nature heap'd her store,
There scarce remain'd for arts to give him more!
To aid the crown and state his greatest zeal,
His second care that service to conceal;
Of dues observant, firm to every trust,
And to the needy always more than just.

Who truth from ſpecious falſhood can divide,
Has all the gownſmens ſkill without their pride;
Thus crown'd with worth from heights of honor won,
Sees all his glories copied in his ſon,
Whoſe forward fame ſhould every muſe engage:
Whoſe youth boaſts ſkill deny'd to other's age.
Men, manners, language, books of nobleſt kind,
Already are the conqueſt of his mind.
Whoſe loyalty before its date was prime;
Nor waited the dull courſe of rolling time:
The monſter faction early he diſmay'd,
And David's cauſe long ſince confeſs'd his aid.
Brave Abdael o'er the prophet's ſchool was plac'd;
Abdael with all his father's virtue grac'd;
A hero, who while ſtars look'd wond'ring down,
Without one Hebrew's blood reſtor'd the crown.
That praiſe was his; what therefore did remain
For following chiefs, but boldly to maintain
That crown reſtor'd; and in this rank of fame,
Brave Abdael with the firſt a place muſt claim.
Proceed illuſtrious, happy chief, proceed,
Foreſeize the garlands for thy brow decreed,
While th' inſpir'd tribe attend with nobleſt ſtrain
To regiſter the glories thou ſhalt gain:

For ſure the dew ſhall Gilboah's hills forſake,
And Jordan mix his ſtream with Sodom's lake;
Or ſeas retir'd their ſecret ſtores diſcloſe,
And to the ſun their ſcaly brood expoſe,
Or ſwell'd above the clifts their billows raiſe,
Before the muſes leave their patron's praiſe.
Eliab our next labor does invite,
And hard the taſk to do Eliab right:
Long with the royal wanderer he rov'd,
And firm in all the turns of fortune prov'd!
Such ancient ſervice and deſert ſo large,
Well claim'd the royal houſhold for his charge.
His age with only one mild heireſs bleſt,
In all the bloom of ſmiling nature dreſt,
And bleſt again to ſee his flower ally'd
To David's ſtock, and made young Othniel's bride!
The bright reſtorer of his father's youth,
Devoted to a ſon's and ſubject's truth:
Reſolv'd to bear that prize of duty home,
So bravely fought, while fought by Abſalom.
A prince! the illuſtrious planet of thy birth,
And thy more powerful virtue guard thy worth;
That no Achitophel thy ruin boaſt;
Iſrael too much in one ſuch wreck has loſt.

Even envy muſt conſent to Helon's worth,
Whoſe ſoul, tho Egypt glories in his birth,
Could for our captive-ark its zeal retain,
And Pharaoh's altars in their pomp diſdain:
To ſlight his gods was ſmall; with nobler pride,
He all the allurements of his court defy'd.
Whom profit nor example could betray,
But Iſrael's friend, and true to David's ſway.
What acts of favor in his province fall,
On merit he confers, and freely all.

Our liſt of nobles next let Amri grace,
Whoſe merits claim'd the Abethdins high place;
Who with a loyalty that did excel,
Brought all th' endowments of Achitophel.
Sincere was Amri, and not only knew,
But Iſrael's ſanctions into practice drew;
Our laws, that did a boundleſs ocean ſeem,
Were coaſted all, and fathom'd all by him.
No rabbin ſpeaks like him their myſtic ſenſe,
So juſt, and with ſuch charms of eloquence:
To whom the double bleſſing does belong,
With Moſes' inſpiration, Aaron's tongue.

Than Sheva none more loyal zeal have ſhown,
Wakeful as Judah's lion for the crown,

Who

Who for that cauſe ſtill combats in his age,
For which his youth with danger did engage.
In vain our factious prieſts the cant revive;
In vain ſeditious ſcribes with libel ſtrive
T' enflame the crowd; whilehe with watchful eye
Obſerves, and ſhoots their treaſons as they fly;
Their weekly frauds his keen replies detect;
He undeceives more faſt than they infect.
So Moſes when the peſt on legions prey'd,
Advanc'd his ſignal and the plague was ſtay'd.
Once more my fainting muſe thy pinions try,
And ſtrength's exhauſted ſtore let love ſupply.
What tribute, Aſaph, ſhall we render thee?
We'll crown thee with a wreath from thy own tree!
Thy laurel grove no envy's flaſh can blaſt;
The ſong of Aſaph ſhall for ever laſt.
With wonder late poſterity ſhall dwell
On Abſalom and falſe Achitophel:
Thy ſtrains ſhall be our ſlumbering prophets dream,
And when our Sion virgins ſing their theme;
Our jubilees ſhall with thy verſe be grac'd,
The ſong of Aſaph ſhall for ever laſt.

How fierce his ſatyr loos'd; reſtrain'd, how tame;
How tender of th' offending young man's fame!
How well his worth, and brave adventures ſtil'd;
Juſt to his virtues, to his error mild.
No page of thine that fears the ſtricteſt view,
But teems with juſt reproof, or praiſe as due;
Not Eden could a fairer proſpect yield,
All paradiſe without one barren field:
Whoſe wit the cenſure of his foes has paſt,
The ſong of Aſaph ſhall for ever laſt.

What praiſe for ſuch rich ſtrains ſhall we allow?
What juſt rewards the grateful crown beſtow?
While bees in flow'rs rejoice, and flow'rs in dew,
While ſtars and fountains to their courſe are true;
While Judah's throne, and Sion's rock ſtand faſt,
The ſong of Aſaph and the fame ſhall laſt.

Still Hebron's honour'd happy ſoil retains
Our royal heroes beauteous dear remains;
Who now ſails off with winds nor wiſhes ſlack,
To bring his ſufferings' bright companion back.
But e'er ſuch tranſport can our ſenſe employ,
A bitter grief muſt poiſon half our joy;
Nor can our coaſts reſtor'd thoſe bleſſings ſee
Without a bribe to envious deſtiny!

Curs'd Sodom's doom for ever fix the tide
Where by inglorious chance the valiant dy'd.
Give not insulting Askalon to know,
Nor let Gath's daughters triumph in our woe!
No sailor with the news swell Egypt's pride,
By what inglorious fate our valiant dy'd!
Weep Arnon! Jordan weep thy fountains dry,
While Sion's rock dissolves for a supply.
Calm were the elements, night's silence deep,
The waves scarce murm'ring, and the winds asleep;
Yet fate for ruin takes so still an hour,
And treacherous sands the princely bark devour;
Then death unworthy seiz'd a gen'rous race,
To virtue's scandal, and the stars disgrace!
Oh! had th' indulgent pow'rs vouchsaf'd to yield,
Instead of faithless shelves, a listed field;
A listed field of heaven's and David's foes,
Fierce as the troops that did his youth oppose,
Each life had on his slaughter'd heap retir'd,
Not tamely, and unconqu'ring thus expir'd:
But destiny is now their only foe,
And dying even o'er that they triumph too;

With loud laſt breaths their maſter's ſcape
applaud,
Of whom kind force cou'd ſcarce the fates
defraud;
Who for ſuch followers loſt, O matchleſs mind!
At his own ſafety now almoſt repin'd!
Say, royal Sir, by all your fame in arms,
Your praiſe in peace, and by Urania's charms;
If all your ſuff'rings paſt ſo nearly preſt,
Or pierc'd with half ſo painful grief your breaſt?
Thus ſome diviner muſe her heroe forms,
Not ſooth'd with ſoft delights, but toſt in ſtorms.
Nor ſtrecht on roſes in the myrtle grove,
Nor crowns his days with mirth, his nights with
love,
But far remov'd in thund'ring camps is found,
His ſlumbers ſhort, his bed the herbleſs ground:
In taſks of danger always ſeen the firſt,
Feeds from the hedge, and ſlakes with ice his
thirſt.
Long muſt his patience ſtrive with fortune's
rage,
And long oppoſing Gods themſelves engage,
Muſt ſee his country flame, his friends deſtroy'd,
Before the promis'd empire be enjoy'd:

Such toil of fate must build a man of fame,
And such, to Israel's crown, the god-like David came.
What sudden beams dispel the clouds so fast!
Whose drenching rains laid all our vineyards waste?
The spring so far behind her course delay'd,
On th' instant is in all her bloom array'd;
The winds breathe low, the element serene;
Yet mark what motion in the waves is seen!
Thronging and busy as Hyblæan swarms,
Or straggled soldiers summon'd to their arms.
See where the princely bark in loosest pride,
With all her guardian fleet, adorns the tide!
High on her deck the royal lovers stand,
Our crimes to pardon e'er they touch'd our land.
Welcome to Israel and to David's breast!
Here all your toils, here all your suff'rings rest.
This year did Ziloah rule Jerusalem,
And boldly all sedition's Syrtes stem,
Howe'er incumber'd with a viler pair
Than Ziph or Shimei to assist the chair;
Yet Ziloah's loyal labours so prevail'd
That faction at the next election fail'd,

When ev'n the common cry did juſtice ſound,
And merit by the multitude was crown'd:
With David then was Iſrael's peace reſtor'd,
Crowds mourn'd their error, and obey'd their lord.

K E Y

TO

ABSALOM and ACHITOPHEL.

Abdaal,	—	GENERAL Monk, Duke of Albemarle.
Abethdin,	—	The Name given, thro this Poem, to a Lord-Chancellor in general.
Abſalom,	—	Duke of Monmouth.
Achitophel,	—	The Earl of Shafteſbury,
Adriel,	—	Earl of Mulgrave.
Agag,	—	Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.
Amiel,	—	Mr. Seymour, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.
Amri,	—	Sir Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelſea, and Lord-Chancellor.
Annabel,	—	Ducheſs of Monmouth.
Arod,	—	Sir William Waller.
Aſaph,	—	A Character drawn by Tate for Dryden, in the ſecond Part of this Poem.
Balaam,	—	Earl of Huntingdon.
Balaak,	—	Barnet.
Barzillai,	—	Duke of Ormond.
Bathſheba,	—	Ducheſs of Portſmouth.
Benaiah,	—	General Sackville.
Ben Jochanan,		Rev. Mr. Samuel Johnſon.
Bezaliel,	—	Duke of Beaufort.
Caleb,	—	Lord Grey.
Corah,	—	Dr. Oates.
David,	—	Charles II.

Doeg, ——	Elkanah Settle.
Egypt, ——	France.
Eliab, ——	Sir Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington.
Ethnic-Plot,	The Popiſh-Plot.
Gath, ——	The Land of Exile, more particularly Bruſſels, where King Charles II. long reſided.
Hebron, ——	Scotland.
Hebrew Prieſts,	The Church of England Clergy.
Helon, ——	Earl of Feverſham.
Huſhai, —	Hyde, Earl of Rocheſter.
Jebuſites, —	Papiſts.
Jeruſalem,	London.
Jews, —	Engliſh.
Jonas, —	Sir William Jones.
Jordan, —	Dover.
Jotham, ——	Marquis of Hallifax.
Jothran, ——	Lord Dartmouth.
Iſhboſheth, ——	Richard Cromwell.
Iſrael, ——	England.
Iſſachar, —	Thomas Thynne, Eſq;
Judas, ——	Mr. Ferguſon, a canting Teacher.
Iſhban, ——	Sir Robert Clayton.
Mephiboſheth,	Pordage.
Michal, —	Queen Catharine.
Nadab, ——	Lord Howard of Eſcrick.
Og, ——	Shadwell.
Phaleg, ——	Forbes.
Pharaoh, —	King of France.
Rabſheka, —	Sir Thomas Player.
Sagan of Jeruſalem,	Dr. Compton, Biſhop of London.
Sanhedrim,	Parliament.
Saul, ——	Oliver Cromwell.

Shimei,	——	Sheriff Bethel.
Sheva,	——	Sir Roger Leſtrange.
Solymean Rout,		London Rebels.
Tyre,	——	Holland.
Uzza,	——	Jack Hall.
Zadoc,	——	Sancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.
Zaken,	——	A Member of the Houſe of Commons.
Zimri,	——	Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.
Ziloah,	——	Sir John Moor.

THE
MEDAL.
A
SATIRE
AGAINST
SEDITION.

EPISTLE

TO THE

WHIGS.

FOR to whom can I dedicate this poem, with ſo much juſtice as to you? 'Tis the repreſentation of your own hero: 'tis the picture drawn at length, which you admire and prize ſo much in little. None of your ornaments are wanting; neither the landſcape of your Tower, nor the riſing ſun; nor the Anno Domini of your new ſovereign's coronation. This muſt needs be a grateful undertaking to your whole party: eſpecially to thoſe who have not been ſo happy as to purchaſe the original. I hear the graver has made a good market of it: all his kings are bought up already; or the value of the remainder ſo inhanced, that many a poor Polander who would be glad to worſhip the image, is not able to go to the coſt of him: but muſt be content to

ſee him here. I muſt confeſs I am no great artiſt; but ſign-poſt painting will ſerve the turn to remember a friend by; eſpecially when better is not to be had. Yet for your comfort the lineaments are true: and though he ſat not five times to me, as he did to B. yet I have conſulted hiſtory; as the Italian painters do, when they would draw a Nero or a Caligula; though they have not ſeen the man, they can help their imagination by a ſtatue of him, and find out the coloring from Suetonius and Tacitus. Truth is, you might have ſpared one ſide of your Medal: the head would be ſeen to more advantage if it were placed on a ſpike of the Tower, a little nearer to the ſun; which would then break out to better purpoſe.

You tell us in your preface to the No-proteſtant Plot, that you ſhall be forced hereafter to leave off your modeſty: I ſuppoſe you mean that little which is left you; for it was worn to rags when you put out this Medal. Never was there practiſed ſuch a piece of notorious impudence in the face of an eſtabliſhed government. I believe when he is dead you will wear him in thumb-rings, as the Turks did Scanderbeg; as if there

were virtue in his bones to preſerve you againſt monarchy. Yet all this while you pretend not only zeal for the public good, but a due veneration for the perſon of the king. But all men who can ſee an inch before them, may eaſily detect thoſe groſs falacies. That it is neceſſary for men in your circumſtances to pretend both, is granted you; for without them there could be no ground to raiſe a faction. But I would aſk you one civil queſtion, what right has any man among you, or any aſſociation of men, to come nearer to you, who, out of parliament, cannot be conſidered in a public capacity, to meet as you daily do in factious clubs, to vilify the government in your diſcourſes, and to libel it in all your writings? Who made you judges in Iſrael? Or how is it conſiſtent with your zeal for the public welfare, to promote ſedition? Does your definition of loyal, which is to ſerve the king according to the laws, allow you the licence of traducing the executive power with which you own he is inveſted? You complain that his majeſty has loſt the love and confidence of his people; and by your very urging it, you endeavour what in you lies to make him loſe them. All good

ſubjects abhor the thought of arbitrary power, whether it be in one or many: if you were the patriots you would ſeem, you would not at this rate incenſe the multitude to aſſume it; for no ſober man can fear it, either from the king's diſpoſition or his practice; or even where you would odiouſly lay it, from his miniſters. Give us leave to enjoy the government and benefit of laws under which we were born, and which we deſire to tranſmit to our poſterity. You are not the truſtees of the public liberty: and if you have not right to petition in a crowd, much leſs have you to intermeddle in the management of affairs; or to arraign what you do not like; which in effect is every thing that is done by the king and council. Can you imagine that any reaſonable man will believe you reſpect the perſon of his majeſty, when 'tis apparent that your ſeditious pamphlets are ſtuffed with particular reflections on him? If you have the confidence to deny this, it is eaſy to be evinced from a thouſand paſſages, which I only forbear to quote, becauſe I deſire they ſhould die and be forgotten. I have peruſed many of your papers; and to ſhow you that I have, the third part of your No-proteſtant Plot is much of it

ſtolen from your dead author's pamphlet, called the Growth of Popery; as manifeſtly as Milton's Defence of the Engliſh People is from Buchanan De jure regni apud Scotos: or your firſt Covenant and new Aſſociation from the holy league of the French Guiſards. Any one who reads Davila, may trace your practices all along. There were the ſame pretences for reformation and loyalty, the ſame aſperſions of the king, and the ſame grounds of a rebellion. I know not whether you will take the hiſtorian's word, who ſays it was reported, that Poltrot a Hugonot murdered Francis duke of Guiſe, by the inſtigations of Theodore Beza, or that it was a Hugonot miniſter, otherwiſe called a Preſbyterian, for our church abhors ſo deviliſh a tenet, who firſt writ a treatiſe of the lawfulneſs of depoſing and murdering kings of a different perſuaſion in religion: but I am able to prove, from the doctrine of Calvin, and principles of Buchanan, that they ſet the people above the magiſtrate; which, if I miſtake not is your own fundamental, and which carries your loyalty no farther than your liking. When a vote of the houſe of commons goes on your ſide, you are as ready to obſerve it as if it were paſſed into a law;

but when you are pinched with any former, and yet unrepealed act of parliament, you declare that in some cases you will not be obliged by it. The passage is in the same third part of the No-protestant Plot; and is too plain to be denied. The late copy of your intended association, you neither wholly justify nor condemn; but as the papists, when they are unoppos'd, fly out into all the pageantries of worship; but in times of war, when they are hard pressed by arguments, lie close intrench'd behind the Council of Trent: so now, when your affairs are in a low condition, you dare not pretend that to be a legal combination, but whensoever you are afloat, I doubt not but it will be maintained and justified to purpose. For indeed there is nothing to defend it but the sword: 'tis the proper time to say any thing when men have all things in their power.

In the mean time, you would fain be nibbling at a parallel betwixt this association, and that in the time of queen Elizabeth. But there is this small difference betwixt them, that the ends of the one are directly opposite to the other: one with the queen's approbation and conjunction, as head of it; the other without either the consent

or knowledge of the king, againſt whoſe authority it is manifeſtly deſigned. Therefore you do well to have recourſe to your laſt evaſion, that it was contrived by your enemies, and ſhuffled into the papers that were ſeized; which yet you ſee the nation is not ſo eaſy to believe as your own jury; but the matter is not difficult, to find twelve men in Newgate who would acquit a malefactor.

I have one only favour to deſire of you at parting, that when you think of anſwering this poem, you would employ the ſame pens againſt it, who have combated with ſo much ſucceſs againſt Abſalom and Achitophel: for then you may aſſure yourſelves of a clear victory, without the leaſt reply. Rail at me abundantly; and, not to break a cuſtom, do it without wit: by this method you will gain a conſiderable point, which is wholly to wave the anſwer of my arguments. Never own the bottom of your principles, for fear they ſhould be treaſon. Fall ſeverely on the miſcarriages of government; for if ſcandal be not allowed, you are no freeborn ſubjects. If God has not bleſſed you with the talent of rhiming, make uſe of my poor ſtock and welcome: let your verſes run upon my feet: and for the utmoſt refuge of notorious

blockheads, reduced to the laſt extremity of ſenſe, turn my own lines upon me, and in utter deſpair of your own ſatyr, make me ſatyrize myſelf. Some of you have been driven to this bay already; but, above all the reſt, commend me to the non-conformiſt parſon, who writ the Whip and Key. I am afraid it is not read ſo much as the piece deſerves, becauſe the bookſeller is every week crying help at the end of his Gazette, to get it off. You ſee I am charitable enough to do him a kindneſs, that it may be publiſhed as well as printed; and that ſo much ſkill in Hebrew derivations may not lie for waſte-paper in the ſhop. Yet I half ſuſpect he went no farther for his learning, than the index of Hebrew names and etymologies, which is printed at the end of ſome Engliſh bibles. If Achitophel ſignify the brother of a fool, the author of that poem will paſs with his readers for the next of kin. And perhaps it is the relation that makes the kindneſs. Whatever the verſes are, buy them up I beſeech you out of pity; for I hear the conventicle is ſhut up, and the brother of Achitophel out of ſervice.

Now footmen you know have the generosity to make a purse for a member of their society, who has had his livery pulled over his ears: and even protestant socks are bought up among you, out of veneration to the name. A dissenter in poetry from sense and English will make as good a protestant rhymer, as a dissenter from the church of England a protestant parson. Besides, if you encourage a young beginner, who knows but he may elevate his stile a little above the vulgar epithets of prophane, and sawcy Jack, and atheistic scribler, with which he treats me, when the fit of enthusiasm is strong upon him: by which well-mannered and charitable expressions I was certain of his sect before I knew his name. What would you have more of a man? He has damned me in your cause from Genesis to the Revelations: and has half the texts of both the Testaments against me, if you will be so civil to yourselves as to take him for your interpreter; and not to take them for Irish witnesses. After all, perhaps you will tell me, that you retained him only for the opening of your cause, and that your main lawyer is yet behind. Now if it so happen he

meet with no more reply than his predeceſſors, you may either conclude that I truſt to the goodneſs of my cauſe, or fear my adverſary, or diſdain him, or what you pleaſe, for the ſhort of it is, it is indifferent to your humble ſervant, whatever your party ſays or thinks of him.

THE

MEDAL.

OF all our antic ſights and pageantry,
Which Engliſh ideots run in crowds to ſee,
The Poliſh Medal bears the prize alone:
A monſter, more the favourite of the town
Than either fairs or theatres have ſhown.
Never did art ſo well with nature ſtrive;
Nor ever idol ſeemed ſo much alive:
So like the man; ſo golden to the ſight,
So baſe within, ſo counterfeit and light.
One ſide is fill'd with title and with face;
And, leſt the king ſhould want a regal place,

On the reverſe, a tower the town ſurveys;
O'er which our mounting ſun his beams diſplays,
The word, pronounc'd aloud by ſhrieval voice,
Lætamur, which, in Poliſh, is rejoice.
The day, month, year, to the great act are join'd;
And a new canting holiday deſign'd.
Five days he ſat, for every caſt and look;
Four more than God to finiſh Adam took.
But who can tell what eſſence angels are,
Or how long heaven was making Lucifer?
Oh, could the ſtile that copy'd every grace,
And plough'd ſuch furrows for an eunuch face,
Could it have form'd his ever-changing will,
The various piece had tir'd the graver's ſkill!
A martial hero firſt, with early care,
Blown, like a pigmy by the winds, to war,
A beardleſs chief, a rebel, e'er a man:
So young his hatred to his prince began.
Next this, how wildly will ambition ſteer!
A vermin wriggling in the uſurper's ear.
Bartering his venal wit for ſums of gold,
He caſt himſelf into the ſaint-like mould;
Groan'd, ſigh'd and pray'd, while godlineſs was gain,
The lowdeſt bagpipe of the ſqueaking train.

But, as 'tis hard to cheat a juggler's eyes,
His open lewdneſs he cou'd ne'er diſguiſe.
There ſplit the ſaint: for hypocritic zeal
Allows no ſins but thoſe it can conceal.
Whoring to ſcandal gives too large a ſcope:
Saints muſt not trade; but they may interlope.
The ungodly principle was all the ſame;
But a groſs cheat betrays his partner's game.
Beſides their pace was formal, grave, and ſlack;
His nimble wit outran the heavy pack.
Yet ſtill he found his fortune at a ſtay;
Whole droves of blockheads choaking up his way
They took, but not rewarded, his advice;
Villain and wit exact a double price.
Power was his aim: but thrown from that pretence,
The wretch turn'd loyal in his own defence;
And malice reconcil'd him to his prince.
Him, in the anguiſh of his ſoul he ſerv'd;
Rewarded faſter ſtill than he deſerv'd.
Behold him now exalted into truſt;
His counſel's oft convenient, ſeldom juſt.
Even in the moſt ſincere advice he gave
He had a grudging ſtill to be a knave.

The frauds he learn'd in his fanatic years
Made him uneaſy in his lawful gears.
At beſt as little honeſt as he could,
And like white witches miſchievouſly good.
To his firſt bias longingly he leans;
And rather would be great by wicked means.
Thus fram'd for ill, he loos'd our triple hold;
Advice unſafe, precipitous, and bold.
From hence thoſe tears! that ilium of our woe!
Who helps a powerful friend, fore-arms a foe.
What wonder if the waves prevail ſo far
When he cut down the banks that made the bar?
Seas follow but their nature to invade;
But he by art our native ſtrength betray'd.
So Sampſon to his foe his force confeſt;
And to be ſhorn, lay ſlumbering on her breaſt.
But when this fatal counſel, found too late,
Expos'd its author to the public hate;
When his juſt ſovereign, by no impious way
Could be ſeduc'd to arbitrary ſway;
Forſaken of that hope he ſhifts his ſail,
Drives down the current with a pop'lar gale;
And ſhews the fiend confeſs'd without a veil.
He preaches to the crowd that power is lent,
But not convey'd to kingly government;

That claims ſucceſſive bear no binding force,
That coronation oaths are things of courſe;
Maintains the multitude can never err;
And ſets the people in the papal chair.
The reaſon's obvious; intereſt never lies;
The moſt have ſtill their intereſt in their eyes;
The power is always theirs, and power is ever wiſe.
Almighty crowd, thou ſhorteneſt all diſpute,
Power is thy eſſence; wit thy attribute!
Nor faith nor reaſon make thee at a ſtay,
Thou leapſt o'er all eternal truths in thy pindaric way!
Athens no doubt did righteouſly decide,
When Phocion and when Socrates were try'd:
As righteouſly they did thoſe dooms repent;
Still they were wiſe whatever way they went,
Crowds err not, tho to both extremes they run;
To kill the father, and recal the ſon.
Some think the fools were moſt as times went then,
But now the world's o'erſtock'd with prudent men.
The common cry is even religion's teſt,
The Turk's is at Conſtantinople beſt;
Idols in India; popery at Rome;
And our own worſhip only true at home.
And true, but for the time 'tis hard to know
How long we pleaſe it ſhall continue ſo.

This ſide to-day, and that to-morrow burns;
So all are God-a'mighties in their turns.
A tempting doctrine, plauſible and new;
What fools our fathers were, if this be true!
Who to deſtroy the ſeeds of civil war,
Inherent right in monarchs did declare:
And that a lawful power might never ceaſe,
Secur'd ſucceſſion to ſecure our peace.
Thus property and ſovereign ſway, at laſt
In equal balances were juſtly caſt:
But this new Jehu ſpurs the hot-mouth'd horſe;
Inſtructs the beaſt to know his native force;
To take the bit between his teeth and fly
To the next headlong ſteep of anarchy.
Too happy England, if our good we knew,
Would we poſſeſs the freedom we purſue?
The laviſh government can give no more:
Yet we repine, and plenty makes us poor.
God try'd us once; our rebel-fathers fought,
He glutted them with all the power they ſought:
Till maſter'd by their own uſurping brave,
The free-born ſubject ſunk into a ſlave.
We loath our manna, and we long for quails;
Ah, what is man when his own wiſh prevails!
How raſh, how ſwift to plunge himſelf in ill?
Proud of his power, and boundleſs in his will!

That kings can do no wrong we muſt believe ;
None can they do, and muſt they all receive ?
Help heaven ! or ſadly we ſhall ſee an hour,
When neither wrong nor right are in their power!
Already they have loſt their beſt defence,
The benefit of laws which they diſpenſe.
No juſtice to their righteous cauſe allow'd ;
But baffled by an arbitrary crowd.
And medals grav'd their conqueſt to record,
The ſtamp and coin of their adopted lord.

The man who laugh'd but once, to ſee an aſs
Mumbling to make the croſs-grain'd thiſtles paſs;
Might laugh again to ſee a jury chew
The prickles of unpalatable law.
The witneſſes, that leech-like liv'd on blood,
Sucking for them was med'cinally good ;
But when they faſten'd on their feſter'd ſore,
Then juſtice and religion they forſwore ;
Their maiden oaths debauch'd into a whore.
Thus men are rais'd by factions, and decry'd ;
And rogue and ſaint diſtinguiſh'd by their ſide.
They rack even ſcripture to confeſs their cauſe,
And plead a call to preach in ſpight of laws.
But that's no news to the poor injur'd page,
It has been us'd as ill in every age :

And is conſtrain'd with patience all to take,
For what defence can Greek and Hebrew make?
Happy who can this talking trumpet ſeize;
They make it ſpeak whatever ſenſe they pleaſe!
'Twas fram'd at firſt our oracle to enquire;
But ſince our ſects in prophecy grow higher,
The text inſpires not them, but they the text inſpire.

London, thou great emporium of our iſle,
O thou too bounteous, thou too fruitful Nile!
How ſhall I praiſe or curſe to thy deſert?
Or ſeparate thy ſound from thy corrupted part?
I call'd thee Nile; the parallel will ſtand:
Thy tides of wealth o'erflow the fatten'd land;
Yet monſters from thy large increaſe we find,
Engender'd on the ſlime thou leav'ſt behind.
Sedition has not wholly ſeiz'd on thee,
Thy nobler parts are from infection free.
Of Iſrael's tribes thou haſt a numerous band,
But ſtill the Canaanite is in the land.
Thy military chiefs are brave and true;
Nor are thy diſinchanted burghers few.
The head is loyal which thy heart commands,
But what's a head with two ſuch gouty hands?
The wiſe and wealthy love the ſureſt way,
And are content to thrive and to obey.

But wiſdom is to ſloth too great a ſlave;
None are ſo buſy as the fool and knave.
Thoſe let me curſe; what vengeance will they urge,
Whoſe ordures neither plague nor fire can purge?
Nor ſharp experience can to duty bring,
Nor angry heaven, nor a forgiving king!
In goſpel-phraſe their chapmen they betray;
Their ſhops are dens, the buyer is their prey.
The knack of trades is living on the ſpoil;
They boaſt even when each other they beguile.
Cuſtoms to ſteal is ſuch a trivial thing,
That 'tis their charter to defraud their king.
All hands unite of every jarring ſect;
They cheat the country firſt, and then infect.
They for God's cauſe their monarchs dare
dethrone,
And they'll be ſure to make his cauſe their own.
Whether the plotting jeſuit, lay'd the plan
Of murdering kings, or the French puritan,
Our ſacrilegious ſects their guides outgo,
And kings and kingly power would murder too.
What means their traiterous combination leſs,
Too plain to evade, too ſhameful to confeſs.
But treaſon is not own'd when 'tis deſcry'd;
Succeſsful crimes alone are juſtify'd.

The men who no conſpiracy would find
Who doubts? but had it taken, they had join'd,
Join'd in a mutual covenant of defence;
At firſt without, at laſt againſt their prince.
If ſovereign right by ſovereign power they ſcan,
The ſame bold maxim holds in God and man:
God were not ſafe, his thunder could they ſhun
He ſhould be forc'd to crown another ſon.
Thus when the heir was from the vineyard thrown,
The rich poſſeſſion was the murderer's own.
In vain to ſophiſtry they have recourſe:
By proving their's no plot, they prove 'tis worſe;
Unmaſk'd rebellion, and audacious force:
Which tho not actual, yet all eyes may ſee
'Tis working in the immediate power to be;
For from pretended grievances they riſe,
Firſt to diſlike, and after to deſpiſe.
Then cyclop-like in human fleſh to deal,
Chop up a miniſter at every meal:
Perhaps not wholly to melt down the king;
But clip his regal rights within the ring.
From thence to aſſume the power of peace and war;
And eaſe him by degrees of public care.

Yet to consult his dignity and fame,
He should have leave to exercise the name;
And hold the cards while commons play'd the game.
For what can power give more than food and drink,
To live at ease, and not be bound to think?
These are the cooler methods of their crime,
But their hot zealots think 'tis loss of time;
On utmost bounds of loyalty they stand,
And grin and whet like a Croatian band;
That waits impatient for the last command.
Thus outlaws open villainy maintain,
They steal not, but in squadrons scour the plain:
And if their power the passengers subdue,
The most have right, the wrong is in the few.
Such impious axioms foolishly they show,
For in some soils republics will not grow:
Our temperate isle will no extremes sustain,
Of popular sway or arbitrary reign:
But slides between them both into the best,
Secure in freedom, in a monarch blest,
And tho the climate vex'd with various winds,
Works thro our yielding bodies on our minds.
The wholesome tempest purges what it breeds,
To recommend the calmness that succeeds.

But thou, the pander of the people's hearts,
O crooked ſoul, and ſerpentine in arts,
Whoſe blandiſhments a loyal land have whor'd,
And broke the bonds ſhe plighted to her lord;
What curſes on thy blaſted name will fall!
Which age to age their legacy ſhall call;
For all muſt curſe the woes that muſt deſcend on all.
Religion thou haſt none: thy Mercury
Has paſs'd thro every ſect, or theirs through thee.
But what thou giveſt, that venom ſtill remains;
And the pox'd nation feels thee in their brains.
What elſe inſpires the tongues and ſwells the breaſts
Of all thy bellowing renegado prieſts,
That preach up thee for God; diſpenſe thy laws;
And with thy ſtum ferment their fainting cauſe?
Freſh fumes of madneſs raiſe; and toil and ſweat
To make the formidable cripple great.
Yet ſhould thy crimes ſucceed, ſhould lawleſs power
Compaſs thoſe ends thy greedy hopes devour,
Thy canting friends thy mortal foes would be,
Thy God and theirs will never long agree;
For thine, if thou haſt any, muſt be one
That lets the world and human-kind alone:

A jolly god, that paſſes hours too well
To promiſe heaven, or threaten us with hell.
That unconcern'd can at rebellion ſit,
And wink at crimes he did himſelf commit.
A tyrant theirs; the heaven their prieſthood paints
A conventicle of gloomy ſullen ſaints;
A heaven like Bedlam, ſlovenly and ſad;
Fore-doom'd for ſouls, with falſe religion, mad.
Without a viſion poets can foreſhow
What all but fools by common ſenſe may know:
If true ſucceſſion from our iſle ſhould fail,
And crowds profane with impious arms prevail,
Not thou, nor thoſe thy factious arts engage
Shall reap that harveſt of rebellious rage,
With which thou flattereſt thy decrepid age.
The ſwelling poiſon of the ſeveral ſects,
Which wanting vent, the nation's health infects,
Shall burſt its bag; and fighting out their way
The various venoms on each other prey.
The preſbyter puff'd up with ſpiritual pride,
Shall on the necks of the lewd nobles ride:
His brethren damn, the civil power defy;
And parcel out republic prelacy.
But ſhort ſhall be his reign: his rigid yoke
And tyrant power will puny ſects provoke;

And frogs and toads, and all the tadpole train
Will croak to heaven for help, from this devouring crane.
The cut-throat ſword and clamorous gown ſhall jar,
In ſharing their ill-gotten ſpoils of war:
Chiefs ſhall be grudg'd the part which they pretend;
Lords envy lords, and friends with every friend
About their impious merit ſhall contend.
The ſurly commons ſhall reſpect deny,
And juſtle peerage out with property.
Their general either ſhall his truſt betray,
And force the crowd to arbitrary ſway;
Or they ſuſpecting his ambitious aim,
In hate of kings ſhall caſt anew the frame;
And thruſt out Collatine that bore their name.
Thus inborn broils the factions would engage,
Or wars of exil'd heirs, or foreign rage,
Till halting vengeance overtook our age:
And our wild labors wearied into reſt,
Reclin'd us on a rightful monarch's breaſt.

——*Pudet hæc opprobria, vobis*
Et dici potuiſſe, & non potuiſſe refelli.

RELI-

RELIGIO LAICI:

OR, A

LAYMAN's FAITH.

An EPISTLE.

THE PREFACE.

A Poem with ſo bold a title, and a name prefixed from which the handling of ſo ſerious a ſubject would not be expected, may reaſonably oblige the author to ſay ſomewhat in defence, both of himſelf and of his undertaking. In the firſt place, if it be objected to me that being a layman, I ought not to have concerned myſelf with ſpeculations, which belong to the profeſſion of divinity; I could anſwer, that perhaps laymen, with equal advantages of parts and knowlege, are not the moſt incompetent judges of ſacred things; but in the due ſenſe of my own weakneſs and want of learning I plead not this: I pretend not to make myſelf a judge of faith in others, but only to make a confeſſion of my own. I lay no unhallowed hand upon the ark, but wait on it with the reverence that becomes me at a diſtance. In the next place I will ingenuouſly confeſs, that the helps I have uſed in this ſmall treatiſe, were many of them taken from the works of our own reverend divines of the church of England; ſo that the weapons with which I combat irreli-

gion, are already conſecrated; tho I ſuppoſe they may be taken down as lawfully as the ſword of Goliah was by David, when they are to be employed for the common cauſe againſt the enemies of piety. I intend not by this to intitle them to any of my errors, which, yet I hope are only thoſe of charity to mankind; and ſuch as my own charity has cauſed me to commit, that of others may more eaſily excuſe. Being naturally inclined to ſcepticiſm in philoſophy, I have no reaſon to impoſe my opinions in a ſubject which is above it; but whatever they are, I ſubmit them with all reverence to my mother church, accounting them no further mine, than as they are authoriſed, or at leaſt uncondemned by her. And, indeed, to ſecure myſelf on this ſide, I have uſed the neceſſary precaution of ſhewing this paper before it was publiſhed to a judicious and learned friend, a man indefatigably zealous in the ſervice of the church and ſtate; and whoſe writings have highly deſerved of both. He was pleaſed to approve the body of the diſcourſe, and I hope he is more my friend than to do it out of complaiſance: it is true he had too good a taſte to like it all; and amongſt ſome other faults recommended to my ſecond view, what I have written perhaps

too boldly on St. Athanaſius, which he adviſed me wholly to omit. I am ſenſible enough that I had done more prudently to have followed his opinion: but then I could not have ſatisfied myſelf that I had done honeſtly not to have written what was my own. It has always been my thought, that heathens who never did, nor without miracle could, hear of the name of Chriſt, were yet in a poſſibility of ſalvation. Neither will it enter eaſily into my belief, that before the coming of our Saviour the whole world, excepting only the Jewiſh nation, ſhould lie under the inevitable neceſſity of everlaſting puniſhment, for want of that revelation, which was confined to ſo ſmall a ſpot of ground as that of Paleſtine. Among the ſons of Noah we read of one only who was accurſed; and if a bleſſing in the ripeneſs of time was reſerved for Japhet (of whoſe progeny we are) it ſeems unaccountable to me, why ſo many generations of the ſame offspring, as preceded our Saviour in the fleſh, ſhould be all involved in one common condemnation, and yet that their poſterity ſhould be intitled to the hopes of ſalvation: as if a bill of excluſion had paſſed only on the fathers, which debarred not the ſons from their ſucceſſion. Or that ſo many ages had

been delivered over to hell, and so many reserved for heaven, and that the devil had the first choice, and God the next. Truly I am apt to think, that the revealed religion which was taught by Noah to all his sons, might continue for some ages in the whole posterity. That afterwards it was included wholly in the family of Sem is manifest; but when the progenies of Cham and Japhet swarmed into colonies, and those colonies were subdivided into many others: in process of time their descendants lost by little and little the primitive and purer rites of divine worship, retaining only the notion of one deity; to which succeeding generations added others: for men took their degrees in those ages from conquerors to gods. Revelation being thus eclipsed to almost all mankind, the light of nature as the next in dignity was substituted; and that is it which St. Paul concludes to be the rule of the heathens, and by which they are hereafter to be judged. If my supposition be true, then the consequence which I have assumed in my poem may be also true; namely, that Deism, or the principles of natural worship, are only the faint remnants or dying flames of revealed religion in the posterity of Noah: and that our modern philosophers, nay

and ſome of our philoſophiſing divines have too much exalted the faculties of our ſouls, when they have maintained that by their force, mankind has been able to find out that there is one ſupreme agent or intellectual being which we call God: that praiſe and prayer are his due worſhip; and the reſt of thoſe deducements, which I am confident are the remote effects of revelation, and unattainable by our diſcourſe, I mean as ſimply conſidered, and without the benefit of divine illumination. So that we have not lifted up ourſelves to God, by the weak pinions of our reaſon, but he has been pleaſed to deſcend to us; and what Socrates ſaid of him, what Plato writ, and the reſt of the heathen philoſophers of ſeveral nations, is all no more than the twilight of revelation, after the ſun of it was ſet in the race of Noah. That there is ſomething above us, ſome principle of motion, our reaſon can apprehend, tho it cannot diſcover what it is by its own virtue. And indeed 'tis very improbable, that we, who by the ſtrength of our faculties cannot enter into the knowlege of any Being, not ſo much as of our own, ſhould be able to find out by them, that ſupreme nature, which we cannot otherwiſe define than by ſaying it is infinite; as if infinite

were definable, or infinity a ſubject for our narrow underſtanding. They who would prove religion by reaſon, do but weaken the cauſe which they endeavour to ſupport: it is to take away the pillars from our faith, and to prop it only with a twig; it is to deſign a tower like that of Babel, which if it were poſſible, as it is not, to reach heaven, would come to nothing by the confuſion of the workmen. For every man is building a ſeveral way; impotently conceited of his own model and his own materials: reaſon is always ſtriving, and always at a loſs; and of neceſſity it muſt ſo come to paſs, while it is exerciſed about that which is not its proper object. Let us be content at laſt to know God by his own methods; at leaſt, ſo much of him as he is pleaſed to reveal to us in the ſacred ſcriptures: to apprehend them to be the word of God is all our reaſon has to do; for all beyond it is the work of faith, which is the ſeal of heaven impreſſed upon our human underſtanding.

And now for what concerns the holy biſhop Athanaſius, the preface of whoſe creed ſeems inconſiſtent with my opinion; which is, that heathens may poſſibly be ſaved: in the firſt place I deſire it may be conſidered that it is the preface only, not the creed itſelf, which, till I am better

informed, is of too hard a digeſtion for my charity. 'Tis not that I am ignorant how many ſeveral texts of ſcripture ſeemingly ſupport that cauſe; but neither am I ignorant how all thoſe texts may receive a kinder, and more mollified interpretation. Every man who is read in church hiſtory, knows that belief was drawn up after a long conteſtation with Arius, concerning the divinity of our bleſſed Saviour, and his being one ſubſtance with the father; and that thus compiled it was ſent abroad among the chriſtian churches, as a kind of teſt, which whoſoever took was looked on as an orthodox believer. It is manifeſt from hence, that the heathen part of the empire was not concerned in it; for it's buſineſs was not to diſtinguiſh betwixt Pagans and Chriſtians, but betwixt Heretics and true Believers. This, well conſidered, takes off the heavy weight of cenſure, which I would willingly avoid from ſo venerable a man; for if this proportion, 'whoſoever will be ſaved,' be reſtrained only to thoſe to whom it was intended, and for whom it was compoſed, I mean the Chriſtians; then the anathema reaches not the Heathens, who had never heard of Chriſt, and were nothing intereſted in that diſpute. After all I am far from blaming

even that prefatory addition to the creed, and as far from cavilling at the continuation of it in the liturgy of the church, where on the days appointed it is publicly read: for I suppose there is the same reason for it now, in opposition to the Socinians, as there was then against the Arians; the one being a Heresy, which seems to have been refined out of the other; and with how much more plausibility of reason it combats our religion, with so much more caution it ought to be avoided: therefore the prudence of our church is to be commended, which has interposed her authority for the recommendation of this creed. Yet to such as are grounded in the true belief, those explanatory creeds, the Nicene and this of Athanasius might perhaps be spared; for what is supernatural, will always be a mystery in spight of exposition, and for my own part, the plain apostles creed is most suitable to my weak understanding, as the simplest diet is the most easy of digestion.

I have dwelt longer on this subject than I intended, and longer than perhaps I ought; for having laid down, as my foundation, that the scripture is a rule; that in all things needful to salvation it is clear, sufficient, and ordained by God Almighty for that purpose, I have left myself no right to interpret

obſcure places, ſuch as concern the poſſibility of eternal happineſs to heathens: becauſe whatſoever is obſcure is concluded not neceſſary to be known.

But, by aſſerting the ſcripture to be the canon of our faith, I have unavoidably created to myſelf two ſorts of enemies: the papiſts indeed, more directly, becauſe they have kept the ſcripture from us what they could; and have reſerved to themſelves a right of interpreting what they have delivered under the pretence of infallibility: and the fanatics more collaterally, becauſe they have aſſumed what amounts to an infallibility, in the private ſpirit: and have detorted thoſe texts of ſcripture which are not neceſſary to ſalvation, to the damnable uſes of ſedition, diſturbance and deſtruction of the civil government. To begin with the papiſts, and to ſpeak freely, I think them the leſs dangerous, at leaſt in appearance to our preſent ſtate, for not only the penal laws are in force againſt them, and their number is contemptible; but alſo their peers and commons are excluded from parliament, and conſequently thoſe laws in no probability of being repealed. A general and uninterrupted plot of their clergy, ever ſince the reformation, I ſuppoſe all proteſtants believe; for it is not reaſonable to think but that ſo many of

their orders, as were outed from their fat poſſeſſions, would endeavour a re-entrance againſt thoſe whom they account heretics. As for the late deſign, Mr. Coleman's letters, for ought I know, are the beſt evidence; and what they diſcover, without wire-drawing their ſenſe, or malicious gloſſes, all men of reaſon conclude credible. If there be any thing more than this required of me, I muſt believe it as well as I am able, in ſpight of the witneſſes, and out of a decent conformity to the votes of parliament; for I ſuppoſe the fanatics will not allow the private ſpirit in this caſe. Here the infallibility is at leaſt in one part of the government; and our underſtandings as well as our wills are repreſented. But to return to the roman catholics, how can we be ſecure from the practice of jeſuited papiſts in that religion? For not two or three of that order, as ſome of them would impoſe upon us, but almoſt the whole body of them are of opinion, that their infallible maſter has a right over kings, not only in ſpirituals but temporals. Not to name Mariana, Bellarmine, Emanuel Sa, Molina, Santare, Simancha, and at leaſt twenty others of foreign countries; we can produce of our own nation, Campian, and Doleman or Parſons, beſides many are

named whom I have not read, who all of them atteſt this doctrine, that the pope can depoſe and give away the right of any ſovereign prince, *ſi vel paulum deflexerit*, if he ſhall never ſo little warp: but if he once comes to be excommunicated, then the bond of obedience is taken off from ſubjects; and they may and ought to drive him like another Nebuchadnezzar, *ex hominum Chriſtianorum Dominatu*, from exerciſing dominion over Chriſtians; and to this they are bound by virtue of divine precept, and by all the ties of conſcience under no leſs penalty than damnation. If they anſwer me, as a learned prieſt has lately written, that this doctrine of the jeſuits is not *de fide*; and that conſequently they are not obliged by it, they muſt pardon me, if I think they have ſaid nothing to the purpoſe; for it is a maxim in their church, where points of faith are not decided, and that doctors are of contrary opinions, they may follow which part they pleaſe; but more ſafely the moſt received and moſt authorized. And their champion Bellarmine has told the world, in his apology, that the king of England is a vaſſal to the pope, *ratione directi Domini*, and that he holds in villanage of his Roman landlord. Which is no new claim put in for England. Our

chronicles are his authentic witneſſes, that king John was depoſed by the ſame plea, and Philip Auguſtus admitted tenant. And which makes the more for Bellarmine, the French king was again ejected when our king ſubmitted to the church, and the crown was received under the ſordid condition of a vaſſalage.

It is not ſufficient for the more moderate and well-meaning papiſts, of which I doubt not there are many, to produce the evidences of their loyalty to the late king, and to declare their innocency in this plot: I will grant their behaviour in the firſt, to have been as loyal and as brave as they deſire; and will be willing to hold them excuſed as to the ſecond, I mean when it comes to my turn, and after my betters; for it is a madneſs to be ſober alone, while the nation continues drunk: but that ſaying of their father Creſ. is ſtill running in my head, that they may be diſpenſed with in their obedience to an heretic prince, while the neceſſity of the times ſhall oblige them to it: for that, as another of them tells us, is only the effect of chriſtian prudence; but when once they ſhall get power to ſhake him off, an heretic is no lawful king, and conſequently to riſe againſt him is no rebellion. I ſhould be glad, therefore,

that they would follow the advice which was charitably given them by a reverend prelate of our church; namely, that they would join in a public act of disowning and detesting those jesuitic principles; and subscribe to all doctrines which deny the pope's authority of deposing kings, and releasing subjects from their oath of allegiance: to which I should think they might easily be induced, if it be true that this present pope has condemned the doctrine of king-killing, a thesis of the jesuits maintained, amongst others, *ex cathedra*, as they call it, or in open consistory.

Leaving them therefore in so fair a way, if they please themselves, of satisfying all reasonable men of their sincerity and good meaning to the government, I shall make bold to consider that other extreme of our religion, I mean the fanatics, or schismatics, of the English church. Since the Bible has been translated into our tongue, they have used it so, as if their business was not to be saved but to be damned by its contents. If we consider only them, better had it been for the English nation, that it had still remained in the original Greek and Hebrew, or at least in the honest Latin of St. Jerome, than that several texts in it should have been prevaricated to the de-

ſtruction of that government, which put it into ſo ungrateful hands.

How many hereſies the firſt tranſlation of Tindal produced in few years, let my lord Herbert's hiſtory of Henry the Eighth inform you; inſomuch, that for the groſs errors in it, and the great miſchiefs it occaſioned, a ſentence paſſed on the firſt edition of the Bible, too ſhameful almoſt to be repeated. After the ſhort reign of Edward the Sixth, who had continued to carry on the reformation on other principles than it was begun, every one knows that not only the chief promoters of that work, but many others, whoſe conſciences would not diſpenſe with popery, were forced, for fear of perſecution, to change climates: from whence returning at the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, many of them who had been in France, and at Geneva, brought back the rigid opinions and imperious diſcipline of Calvin, to graft upon our reformation. Which, though they cunningly concealed at firſt, as well knowing how nauſeouſly that drug would go down in a lawful monarchy, which was preſcribed for a rebellious commonwealth, yet they always kept it in reſerve; and were never wanting to themſelves either in court or parliament, when either

they had any proſpect of a numerous party of fanatic members of the one, or the encouragement of any favourite in the other, whoſe covetouſneſs was gaping at the patrimony of the church. They who will conſult the works of our venerable Hooker, or the account of his life, or more particularly the letter written to him on this ſubject, by George Cranmer, may ſee by what gradations they proceeded; from the diſlike of cap and ſurplice, the very next ſtep was admonitions to the parliament againſt the whole government eccleſiaſtical: then came out volumes in Engliſh and Latin in defence of their tenets: and immediately practices were ſet on foot to erect their diſcipline without authority. Thoſe not ſucceeding, ſatire and railing was the next: and Martin Mar-prelate, the Marvel of thoſe times, was the firſt preſbyterian ſcribler, who ſanctified libels and ſcurrility to the uſe of the good old cauſe. Which was done, ſays my author, upon this account; that their ſerious treatiſes having been fully anſwered and refuted, they might compaſs by railing what they had loſt by reaſoning; and, when their cauſe was ſunk in court and parliament, they might at leaſt hedge in a ſtake amongſt the rabble: for to

their ignorance all things are wit which are abuſive; but if church and ſtate were made the theme, then the doctoral degree of wit was to be taken at Billingſgate: even the moſt ſaintlike of the party, though they durſt not excuſe this contempt and villifying of the government, yet were pleaſed, and grinned at it with a pious ſmile; and called it a judgment of God againſt the hierarchy. Thus ſectaries, we may ſee, were born with teeth, foul-mouthed and ſcurrilous from their infancy: and if ſpiritual pride, venom, violence, contempt of ſuperiors, and ſlander, had been the marks of orthodox belief; the preſbytery and the reſt of our ſchiſmatics, which are their ſpawn, were always the moſt viſible church in the chriſtian world.

It is true, the government was too ſtrong at that time for a rebellion; but to ſhew what proficiency they had made in Calvin's ſchool, even then their mouths watered at it: for two of their gifted brotherhood, Hacket and Coppinger, as the ſtory tells us, got up into a peaſe-cart and harangued the people, to diſpoſe them to an inſurrection, and to eſtabliſh their diſcipline by force: ſo that however it comes about, that now they celebrate queen Elizabeth's birth-night, as

that of their ſaint and patroneſs; yet then they were for doing the work of the Lord by arms againſt her; and in all probability they wanted but a fanatic lord mayor and two ſheriffs of their party, to have compaſſed it.

Our venerable Hooker, after many admonitions which he had given them, towards the end of his preface, breaks out into this prophetic ſpeech. "There is in every one of theſe conſiderations "moſt juſt cauſe to fear, leſt our haſtineſs to "embrace a thing of ſo perilous conſequence, "meaning the preſbyterian diſcipline, ſhould "cauſe poſterity to feel thoſe evils, which as yet "are more eaſy for us to prevent, than they would "be for them to remedy."

How fatally this Caſſandra has foretold we know too well by ſad experience: the ſeeds were ſown in the time of queen Elizabeth, the bloody harveſt ripened in the reign of king Charles the Martyr: and becauſe all the ſheaves could not be carried off without ſhedding ſome of the looſe grains, another crop is too like to follow; nay, I fear it is unavoidable if the conventiclers be permitted ſtill to ſcatter.

A man may be ſuffered to quote an adverſary to our religion, when he ſpeaks truth: and it is the obſervation of Maimbourg, in his Hiſtory of Calviniſm, that wherever that diſcipline was planted and embraced, rebellion, civil war, and miſery, attended it. And how indeed ſhould it happen otherwiſe? Reformation of church and ſtate has always been the ground of our diviſions in England. While we were papiſts, our holy father rid us, by pretending authority out of the ſcriptures to depoſe princes; when we ſhook off his authority, the ſectaries furniſhed themſelves with the ſame weapons; and out of the ſame magazine, the Bible: ſo that the ſcriptures, which are in themſelves the greateſt ſecurity of governors, as commanding expreſs obedience to them, are now turned to their deſtruction; and never ſince the reformation, has there wanted a text of their interpreting to authorize a rebel. And it is to be noted by the way, that the doctrines of king-killing and depoſing, which have been taken up only by the worſt party of the papiſts, the moſt frontleſs flatterers of the pope's authority, have been eſpouſed, defended, and are ſtill maintained by the whole body of nonconformiſts and

republicans. It is but dubbing themſelves the people of God, which it is the intereſt of their preachers to tell them they are, and their own intereſt to believe; and after that, they cannot dip into the Bible, but one text or another will turn up for their purpoſe: if they are under perſecution, as they call it, then that is a mark of their election; if they flouriſh, then God works miracles for their deliverance, and the ſaints are to poſſeſs the earth.

They may think themſelves to be too roughly handled in this paper; but I who know beſt how far I could have gone on this ſubject, muſt be bold to tell them they are ſpared: tho at the ſame time I am not ignorant that they interpret the mildneſs of a writer to them, as they do the mercy of the government; in the one they think it fear, and conclude it weakneſs in the other. The beſt way for them to confute me is, as I before adviſed the Papiſts, to diſclaim their principles and renounce their practices. We ſhall all be glad to think them true Engliſhmen when they obey the king, and true Proteſtants when they conform to the church-diſcipline.

It remains that I acquaint the reader, that theſe verſes were written for an ingenious young gen-

tleman my friend, upon his tranſlation of The critical hiſtory of the old teſtament, compoſed by the learned father Simon: the verſes therefore are addreſſed to the tranſlator of that work, and the ſtyle of them is, what it ought to be, epiſtolary.

If any one be ſo lamentable a critic as to require the ſmoothneſs, the numbers, and the turn of heroic poetry in this poem; I muſt tell him, that if he has not read Horace, I have ſtudied him, and hope the ſtyle of his epiſtles is not ill imitated here. The expreſſions of a poem deſigned purely for inſtruction, ought to be plain and natural, and yet majeſtic: for here the poet is preſumed to be a kind of lawgiver, and thoſe three qualities which I have named, are proper to the legiſlative ſtyle. The florid, elevated and figurative way is for the paſſions; for love and hatred, fear and anger, are begotten in the ſoul, by ſhewing their objects out of their true proportion, either greater than the life or leſs: but inſtruction is to be given by ſhewing them what they naturally are. A man is to be cheated into paſſion, but to be reaſoned into truth.

RELIGIO LAICI.

An EPISTLE.

DIM as the borrow'd beams of moon and ſtars
To lonely, weary, wandering travellers,
Is reaſon to the ſoul: and as on high,
Thoſe rolling fires diſcover but the ſky,
Not light us here; ſo reaſon's glimmering ray
Was lent, not to aſſure our doubtful way,
But guide us upward to a better day.
And as thoſe nightly tapers diſappear
When day's bright lord aſcends our hemiſphere;
So pale grows reaſon at religion's ſight;
So dies, and ſo diſſolves in ſupernatural light.
Some few, whoſe lamp ſhone brighter, have been led
From cauſe to cauſe, to nature's ſecret head;
And found that one firſt principle muſt be:
But what, or who, that univerſal He;
Whether ſome ſoul incompaſſing this ball
Unmade, unmov'd; yet making, moving all;
Or various atoms, interfering dance,
Leap'd into form, the noble work of chance;

Or this great all was from eternity;
Not even the Stagirite himſelf could ſee;
And Epicurus gueſs'd as well as he:
As blindly grop'd they for a future ſtate;
As raſhly judg'd of providence and fate:
But leaſt of all could their endeavours find
What moſt concern'd the good of human kind:
For happineſs was never to be found;
But vaniſh'd from them like enchanted ground.
One thought content the good to be enjoy'd:
This every little accident deſtroy'd:
The wiſer madmen did for virtue toil:
A thorny, or at beſt a barren ſoil:
In pleaſure ſome their glutton ſouls would ſteep;
But found their line too ſhort, the well too deep;
And leaky veſſels which no bliſs could keep.
Thus anxious thoughts in endleſs circles roll,
Without a centre where to fix the ſoul:
In this wild maze their vain endeavours end:
How can the leſs the greater comprehend?
Or finite reaſon reach Infinity?
For what could fathom God were more than He.

The Deiſt thinks he ſtands on firmer ground;
Cries εὕρηκα the mighty ſecret's found:
God is that ſpring of good; ſupreme, and beſt;
We made to ſerve, and in that ſervice bleſt,

If ſo, ſome rules of worſhip muſt be given,
Diſtributed alike to all by heaven:
Elſe God were partial, and to ſome deny'd
The means his juſtice ſhould for all provide.
This general worſhip is to praiſe and pray:
One part to borrow bleſſings, one to pay:
And when frail nature ſlides into offence,
The ſacrifice for crimes is penitence.
Yet ſince the effects of providence, we find
Are variouſly diſpens'd to human kind;
That vice triumphs, and virtue ſuffers here,
A brand that ſovereign juſtice cannot bear;
Our reaſon prompts us to a future ſtate:
The laſt appeal from fortune and from fate:
Where God's all-righteous ways will be declar'd;
The bad meet puniſhment, the good reward.
Thus man by his own ſtrength to heaven would ſoar:
And would not be oblig'd to God for more.
Vain wretched creature, how art thou miſled
To think thy wit theſe god-like notions bred!
Theſe truths are not the product of thy mind,
But dropt from heaven, and of a nobler kind.
Reveal'd religion firſt inform'd thy ſight,
And reaſon ſaw not till faith ſprung the light.

Hence all thy natural worſhip takes the ſource:
'Tis revelation what thou think'ſt diſcourſe.
Elſe how com'ſt thou to ſee theſe truths ſo clear,
Which ſo obſcure to Heathens did appear?
Not Plato theſe, nor Ariſtotle found:
Nor he whoſe wiſdom oracles renown'd.
Haſt thou a wit ſo deep, or ſo ſublime,
Or canſt thou lower dive, or higher climb?
Canſt thou by reaſon more of godhead know
Than Plutarch, Seneca, or Cicero?
Thoſe giant wits in happier ages born,
When arms and arts did Greece and Rome adorn,
Knew no ſuch ſyſtem: no ſuch piles could raiſe
Of natural worſhip, built on prayer and praiſe
To one ſole God.
Nor did remorſe to expiate ſin preſcribe:
But ſlew their fellow-creatures for a bribe:
The guiltleſs victim groan'd for their offence;
And cruelty and blood was penitence.
If ſheep and oxen could atone for men,
Ah! at how cheap a rate the rich might ſin!
And great oppreſſors might heaven's wrath beguile,
By offering his own creatures for a ſpoil!
Dar'ſt thou, poor worm, offend Infinity?
And muſt the terms of peace be given by thee?

Then thou art Juſtice in the laſt appeal;
Thy eaſy God inſtructs thee to rebel:
And like a king remote, and weak, muſt take
What ſatisfaction thou art pleas'd to make.
But if there be a power too juſt and ſtrong,
To wink at crimes, and bear unpuniſh'd wrong;
Look humbly upward, ſee his will diſcloſe
The forfeit firſt, and then the fine impoſe:
A mulct thy poverty could never pay,
Had not eternal wiſdom found the way:
And with celeſtial wealth ſupply'd thy ſtore:
His juſtice makes the fine, his mercy quits the ſcore.
See God deſcending in thy human frame;
Th' offended ſuffering in th' offender's name:
All thy miſdeeds to him imputed ſee,
And all his righteouſneſs devolv'd on thee.
For granting we have ſin'd, and that th' offence
Of man, is made againſt Omnipotence,
Some price that bears proportion muſt be paid;
And infinite with infinite be weigh'd.
See then the Deiſt loſt: remorſe for vice,
Not paid; or paid, inadequate in price:
What farther means can reaſon now direct,
Or what relief from human wit expect?
That ſhews us ſick; and ſadly are we ſure
Still to be ſick, till heaven reveal the cure:

If then heaven's will muſt needs be underſtood,
Which muſt, if we want cure, and heaven be good,
Let all records of will reveal'd be ſhown;
With ſcripture all in equal balance thrown,
And our one ſacred book will be that one.

Proof needs not here, for whether we compare
That impious, idle, ſuperſtitious ware
Of rites, 'luſtrations, offerings, which before,
In various ages, various countries bore,
With chriſtian faith and virtues, we ſhall find
None anſwering the great ends of human kind
But this one rule of life, that ſhews us beſt
How God may be appeas'd, and mortals bleſt.
Whether from length of time its worth we draw,
The word is ſcarce more ancient than the law:
Heaven's early care preſcrib'd for every age;
Firſt, in the ſoul, and after, in the page.
Or, whether more abſtractedly we look,
Or on the writers, or the written book,
Whence, but from heaven, could men unſkilled in arts,
In ſeveral ages born, in ſeveral parts,
Weave ſuch agreeing truths? or how, or why
Should all conſpire to cheat us with a lye?

Unaſk'd their pains, ungrateful their advice,
Starving their gain, and martyrdom their price.
If on the book itſelf we caſt our view,
Concurrent heathens prove the ſtory true:
The doctrine, miracles; which muſt convince,
For heav'n in them appeals to human ſenſe:
And though they prove not, they confirm the cauſe,
When what is taught agrees with nature's laws.
Then for the ſtile, majeſtic and divine,
It ſpeaks no leſs than God in every line:
Commanding words; whoſe force is ſtill the ſame
As the firſt fiat that produc'd our frame.
All faiths beſide, or did by arms aſcend;
Or ſenſe indulg'd has made mankind their friend:
This only doctrine does our luſts oppoſe:
Unfed by nature's ſoil, in which it grows;
Croſs to our intereſts, curbing ſenſe, and ſin;
Oppreſs'd without, and undermin'd within,
It thrives thro pain; it's own tormentors tires;
And with a ſtubborn patience ſtill aſpires.
To what can reaſon ſuch effects aſſign
Tranſcending nature, but to laws divine?
Which in that ſacred volume are contain'd;
Sufficient, clear, and for that uſe ordain'd;

But ſtay: the deiſt here will urge anew,
No ſupernatural worſhip can be true:
Becauſe a general law is that alone
Which muſt to all, and every where be known:
A ſtile ſo large as not this book can claim
Nor ought that bears revealed religion's name.
'Tis ſaid the ſound of a Meſſiah's birth
Is gone thro all the habitable earth:
But ſtill that text muſt be confin'd alone
To what was then inhabited, and known:
And what proviſion could from thence accrue
To Indian ſouls, and worlds diſcover'd new?
In other parts it helps, that ages paſt,
The ſcriptures there were known, and were embrac'd,
Till ſin ſpread once again the ſhades of night:
What's that to theſe who never ſaw the light?
Of all objections this indeed is chief
To ſtartle reaſon, ſtagger frail belief:
We grant, 'tis true, that heaven from human ſenſe
Has hid the ſecrets paths of providence:
But boundleſs wiſdom, boundleſs mercy, may
Find even for thoſe bewildred ſouls, a way:
If from his nature foes may pity claim,
Much more may ſtrangers who ne'er heard his name.

And tho no name be for ſalvation known,
But that of his eternal ſons alone;
Who knows how far tranſcending goodneſs can
Extend the merits of that ſon to man?
Who knows what reaſons may his mercy lead;
Or ignorance invincible may plead?
Not only charity bids hope the beſt,
But more the great apoſtle has expreſt:
That if the Gentiles, whom no law inſpir'd,
By nature did what was by law requir'd;
They, who the written rule had never known,
Were to themſelves both rule and law alone:
To nature's plain indictment they ſhall plead;
And by their conſcience be condemn'd or freed.
Moſt righteous doom! becauſe a rule reveal'd
Is none to thoſe from whom it was conceal'd.
Then thoſe who follow'd reaſon's dictates right;
Liv'd up, and lifted high their natural light;
With Socrates may ſee their Maker's face,
While thouſand rubric-martyrs want a place.
Nor does it baulk my charity, to find
Th' Egyptian biſhop of another mind:
For though his creed eternal truth contains,
'Tis hard for man to doom to endleſs pains
All who believ'd not all, his zeal requir'd;
Unleſs he firſt could prove he was inſpir'd.

Then let us either think he meant to ſay
This faith, where publiſh'd, was the only way;
Or elſe conclude that Arius to confute,
The good old man too eager in diſpute,
Flew high; and as his chriſtian fury roſe
Damn'd all for heretics who durſt oppoſe.
Thus far my charity this path has try'd;
A much unſkilful, but well meaning guide:
Yet what they are, ev'n theſe crude thoughts were bred
By reading that which better thou haſt read.
Thy matchleſs author's work: which thou, my friend,
By well tranſlating better doſt commend:
Thoſe youthful hours which, of thy equals moſt
In toys have ſquander'd, or in vice have loſt,
Thoſe hours haſt thou to nobler uſe employ'd;
And the ſevere delights of truth enjoy'd.
Witneſs this weighty book, in which appears
The crabbed toil of many thoughtful years,
Spent by thy author, in the ſifting care
Of rabbins old ſophiſticated ware
From gold divine; which he who well can ſort
May afterwards make algebra a ſport.

A treaſure, which if country-curates buy,
They Junius, and Tremellius may defy:
Save pains in various readings, and tranſlations;
And without Hebrew make moſt learn'd quotations.
A work ſo full with various learning fraught,
So nicely pondred, yet ſo ſtrongly wrought,
As nature's height and arts laſt hand requir'd:
As much as man cou'd compaſs, uninſpir'd.
Where we may ſee what errors have been made
Both in the copiers and tranſlators trade:
How Jewiſh, Popiſh, intereſts have prevail'd,
And where infallibility has fail'd.

For ſome, who have his ſecret meaning gueſs'd,
Have found our author not too much a prieſt:
For faſhion-ſake he ſeems to have recourſe
To pope, and councils, and traditions force:
But he that old traditions could ſubdue,
Could not but find the weakneſs of the new:
If ſcripture, though deriv'd from heavenly birth,
Has been but careleſly preſerv'd on earth;
If God's own people, who of God before
Knew what we know, and had been promis'd more,
In fuller terms, of heaven's aſſiſting care,
And who did neither time nor ſtudy ſpare

To keep this book untainted, unperplext,
Let in groſs errors to corrupt the text,
Omitted paragraphs, embroil'd the ſenſe,
With vain traditions ſtopt the gaping fence,
Which every common hand pull'd up with eaſe:
What ſafety from ſuch bruſhwood-helps as theſe?
If written words from time are not ſecur'd,
How can we think have oral ſounds endur'd?
Which thus tranſmitted, if one mouth has fail'd,
Immortal lyes on ages are intail'd:
And that ſome ſuch have been, is prov'd too plain;
If we conſider intereſt, church, and gain.

O but ſays one, tradition ſet ſide,
Where can we hope for an unerring guide?
For ſince th' original ſcripture has been loſt,
All copies diſagreeing, maim'd the moſt,
Or chriſtian faith can have no certain ground,
Or truth in church-tradition muſt be found.

Such an omniſcient church we wiſh indeed;
'Twere worth both Teſtaments; caſt in the Creed:
But if this mother be a guide ſo ſure,
As can all doubts reſolve, all truth ſecure,
Then her infallibility, as well
Where copies are corrupt or lame, can tell;

Reſtore loſt canon with as little pains,
As truly explicate what ſtill remains:
Which yet no council dare pretend to do;
Unleſs like Eſdras they could write it new:
Strange confidence ſtill to interpret true,
Yet not be ſure that all they have explain'd,
Is in the bleſt original contain'd.
More ſafe, and much more modeſt 'tis, to ſay
God would not leave mankind without a way:
And that the ſcriptures, tho not every where
Free from corruption, or intire, or clear,
Are uncorrupt, ſufficient, clear, intire,
In all things which our needful faith require.
If others in the ſame glaſs better ſee,
'Tis for themſelves they look, but not for me:
For my ſalvation muſt its doom receive,
Not from what others but what I believe.
Muſt all tradition then be ſet aſide?
This to affirm were ignorance or pride.
Are there not many points, ſome needful ſure
To ſaving faith, that ſcripture leaves obſcure?
Which every ſect will wreſt a ſeveral way,
For what one ſect interprets, all ſects may:

We hold, and say we prove from scripture plain,
That Christ is God; the bold Socinian
From the same scripture urges he's but man.
Now what appeal can end th' important suit;
Both parts talk loudly, but the rule is mute?

Shall I speak plain, and in a nation free
Assume an honest layman's liberty?
I think, according to my little skill,
To my own mother-church submitting still,
That many have been sav'd, and many may,
Who never heard this question brought in play.
Th' unletter'd Christian who believes in gross,
Plods on to heaven; and ne'er is at a loss:
For the streight-gate would be made streighter yet,
Were none admitted there but men of wit.
The few by nature form'd, with learning fraught,
Born to instruct as others to be taught,
Must study well the sacred page; and see
Which doctrine, this or that, does best agree
With the whole tenor of the work divine:
And plainliest points to heaven's reveal'd design:
Which exposition flows from genuine sense;
And which is forc'd by wit and eloquence.
Not that tradition's parts are useless here:
When general, old, disinterested and clear:

That ancient fathers thus expound the page,
Gives truth the reverend majesty of age:
Confirms its force by bideing every test;
For best authorities next rules, are best.
And still the nearer to the spring we go
More limpid, more unsoil'd the waters flow.
Thus first traditions were a proof alone;
Could we be certain such they were, so known:
But since some flaws in long descent may be,
They make not truth but probability.
Even Arius and Pelagius durst provoke
To what the centuries preceding spoke.
Such difference is there in an oft-told tale:
But truth by its own sinews will prevail.
Tradition written therefore more commends
Authority, than what from voice descends:
And this, as perfect as its kind can be,
Rolls down to us the sacred history:
Which from the universal church receiv'd,
Is try'd, and after, for itself believ'd.
The partial Papists would infer from hence
Their church, in last resort, should judge the sense.
But first they would assume with wond'rous art,
Themselves to be the whole, who are but part

Of that vaſt frame the church; yet grant they were
The handers down, can they from thence infer
A right t' interpret? or would they alone
Who brought the preſent, claim it for their own?
The book's a common largeſs to mankind;
Not more for them than every man deſign'd:
The welcome news is in the letter found;
The carrier's not commiſſion'd to expound.
It ſpeaks itſelf, and what it does contain,
In all things needful to be known is plain.

In times o'ergrown with ruſt and ignorance,
A gainful trade their clergy did advance:
When want of learning kept the laymen low,
And none but prieſts were authoriz'd to know:
When what ſmall knowlege was, in them did dwell;
And he a God who could but read and ſpell;
Then mother church did mightily prevail:
She parcell'd out the Bible by retail:
But ſtill expounded what ſhe ſold or gave;
To keep it in her power to damn and ſave:
Scripture was ſcarce, and as the market went,
Poor laymen took ſalvation on content;
As needy men take money good or bad:
God's word they had not, but the prieſt's they had

Yet whate'er falſe conveyances they made,
The lawyer ſtill was certain to be paid.
In thoſe dark times they learn'd their knack ſo well,
That by long uſe they grew infallible:
At laſt a knowing age began t' enquire
If they the book, or that did them inſpire:
And making narrower ſearch they found, tho late,
That what they thought the prieſt's, was their eſtate:
Taught by the will produc'd, the written word,
How long they had been cheated on record.
Then every man who ſaw the title fair,
Claim'd a child's part, and put in for a ſhare:
Conſulted ſoberly his private good;
And ſav'd himſelf as cheap as e'er he could.
'Tis true, my friend, and far be flattery hence,
This good had full as bad a conſequence:
The book thus put in every vulgar hand,
Which each preſum'd he beſt could underſtand,
The common rule was made the common prey;
And at the mercy of the rabble lay.
The tender page with horny fiſts was gall'd;
And he was gifted moſt that loudeſt baul'd:

The ſpirit gave the doctoral degree :
And every member of a company
Was of his trade, and of the Bible free.
Plain truths enough for needful uſe they found ;
But men would ſtill be itching to expound :
Each was ambitious of th' obſcureſt place,
No meaſure ta'en from knowlege, all from grace.
Study and pains were now no more their care ;
Texts were explain'd by faſting and by prayer :
This was the fruit the private ſpirit brought ;
Occaſion'd by great zeal and little thought.
While crouds unlearn'd with rude devotion warm,
About the ſacred viands buz and ſwarm.
The fly-blown text creates a crawling brood ;
And turns to maggots what was meant for food.
A thouſand daily ſects riſe up and die ;
A thouſand more the periſh'd race ſupply :
So all we make of heaven's diſcover'd will,
Is not to have it, or to uſe it ill.
The danger's much the ſame ; on ſeveral ſhelves
If others wreck us, or we wreck ourſelves.
What then remains, but waving each extreme,
The tides of ignorance and pride to ſtem ?

Neither ſo rich a treaſure to forego;
Nor proudly ſeek beyond our power to know:
Faith is not built on diſquiſitions vain;
The things we muſt believe are few and plain;
But ſince men will believe more than they need;
And every man will make himſelf a creed:
In doubtful queſtions 'tis the ſafeſt way
To learn what unſuſpected antients ſay:
For 'tis not likely we ſhould higher ſoar
In ſearch of heaven, than all the church before:
Nor can we be deceiv'd, unleſs we ſee
The ſcripture and the fathers diſagree.
If after all they ſtand ſuſpected ſtill,
For no man's faith depends upon his will;
'Tis ſome relief, that points not clearly known,
Without much hazard may be let alone:
And after hearing what our church can ſay,
If ſtill our reaſon runs another way,
That private reaſon 'tis more juſt to curb,
Than by diſputes the public peace diſturb.
For points obſcure are of ſmall uſe to learn:
But common quiet is mankind's concern.
Thus have I made my own opinions clear:
Yet neither praiſe expect, nor cenſure fear:

And this unpoliſh'd rugged verſe I choſe;
As fitteſt for diſcourſe, and neareſt proſe:
For while from ſacred truth I do not ſwerve,
Tom Sternhold's, or Tom Shadwell's rhymes will
ſerve.

THE

ART

OF

POETRY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS tranſlation of monſieur Boileau's Art of Poetry was made in the year 1680, by Sir William Soame of Suffolk, Baronet; who being very intimately acquainted with Mr. Dryden, deſired his reviſal of it. I ſaw the manuſcript lie in Mr. Dryden's hands for above ſix months, who made very conſiderable alterations in it, particularly the beginning of the fourth Canto: and it being his opinion that it would be better to apply the poem to Engliſh writers, than keep to the French names, as it was firſt tranſlated, Sir William deſired he would take the pains to make that alteration; and accordingly that was entirely done by Mr. Dryden.

The poem was firſt publiſhed in the year 1683; Sir William was after ſent ambaſſador to Conſtantinople, in the reign of king James, but died in the voyage.

J. T.

CANTO I.

RASH author, 'tis a vain preſumptuous crime,
To undertake the ſacred art of rhyme;
If at thy birth the ſtars that rul'd thy ſenſe
Shone not with a poetic influence;
In thy ſtrait genius thou wilt ſtill be bound,
Find Phœbus deaf, and Pegaſus unſound.
You then that burn with the deſire to try
The dangerous courſe of charming poetry;
Forbear in fruitleſs verſe to loſe your time,
Or take for genius the deſire of rhyme:
Fear the allurements of a ſpecious bait,
And well conſider your own force and weight.
Nature abounds in wits of every kind,
And for each author can a talent find:
One may in verſe deſcribe an amorous flame,
Another ſharpen a ſhort epigram:
Waller a hero's mighty acts extol,
Spencer ſing Roſalind in paſtoral:
But authors that themſelves too much eſteem,
Loſe their own genius, and miſtake their theme;
Thus in times paſt Dubartas vainly writ,
Allaying ſacred truth with trifling wit,

Impertinently, and without delight,
Deſcrib'd the Iſraelites triumphant flight,
And following Moſes o'er the ſandy plain,
Periſh'd with Pharaoh in th' Arabian main.

Whate'er you write of pleaſant or ſublime,
Always let ſenſe accompany your rhyme:
Falſely they ſeem each other to oppoſe;
Rhyme muſt be made with reaſon's laws to cloſe:
And when to conquer her you bend your force,
The mind will triumph in the noble courſe;
To reaſon's yoke ſhe quickly will incline,
Which, far from hurting, renders her divine:
But if neglected will as eaſily ſtray,
And maſter reaſon which ſhe ſhould obey.
Love reaſon then; and let whate'er you write
Borrow from her its beauty, force, and light.
Moſt writers mounted on a reſty muſe,
Extravagant and ſenſeleſs objects chuſe;
They think they err, if in their verſe they fall
On any thought that's plain or natural:
Fly this exceſs; and let Italians be
Vain authors of falſe glitt'ring poetry.
All ought to aim at ſenſe; but moſt in vain
Strive the hard paſs and ſlippery path to gain:
You drown, if to the right or left you ſtray;
Reaſon to go has often but one way.

Sometimes an author fond of his own thought,
Purſues its object till it's over-wrought:
If he deſcribes a houſe, he ſhews the face,
And after walks you round from place to place;
Here is a viſta, there the doors unfold,
Balconies here are balluſtred with gold;
Then counts the rounds and ovals in the halls,
" The feſtoons, freezes, and the aſtragals:"
Tir'd with his tedious pomp away I run,
And ſkip o'er twenty pages to be gone.
Of ſuch deſcriptions the vain folly ſee,
And ſhun their barren ſuperfluity.
All that is needleſs carefully avoid;
The mind once ſatisfy'd is quickly cloy'd:
He cannot write who knows not to give o'er;
To mend one fault he makes a hundred more:
A verſe was weak, you turn it, much too ſtrong,
And grow obſcure for fear you ſhould be long.
Some are not gaudy but are flat and dry;
Not to be low, another ſoars too high.
Would you of every one deſerve the praiſe?
In writing vary your diſcourſe and phraſe;
A frozen ſtyle that neither ebbs nor flows,
Inſtead of pleaſing makes us gape and doze.
Thoſe tedious authors are eſteem'd by none
Who tire us, humming the ſame heavy tone.

Happy who in his verſe can gently ſteer,
From grave to light; from pleaſant to ſevere:
His works will be admir'd where-ever found,
And oft with buyers will be compaſs'd round.
In all you write be neither low nor vile:
The meaneſt theme may have a proper ſtyle.
The dull burleſque appear'd with impudence,
And pleas'd by novelty in ſpite of ſenſe.
All, except trivial points, grew out of date;
Parnaſſus ſpoke the cant of Billingſgate:
Boundleſs and mad, diſorder'd rhyme was ſeen:
Diſguis'd Apollo chang'd to Harlequin.
This plague which firſt in country towns began,
Cities and kingdoms quickly over-ran;
The dulleſt ſcribblers ſome admirers found,
And the Mock Tempeſt was a while renown'd:
But this low ſtuff the town at laſt deſpis'd,
And ſcorn'd the folly that they once had priz'd;
Diſtinguiſh'd dull from natural and plain,
And left the villages to Fleckno's reign.
Let not ſo mean a ſtyle your muſe debaſe;
But learn from Butler the buffooning grace:
And let burleſque in ballads be employ'd;
Yet noiſy bombaſt carefully avoid,

Nor think to raiſe, tho on Pharſalia's plain,
" Millions of mourning mountains of the ſlain :"
Nor with Dubartas bridle up the floods,
And perriwig with wool the baldpate woods.
Chuſe a juſt ſtyle ; be grave without conſtraint,
Great without pride, and lovely without paint :
Write what your reader may be pleas'd to hear ;
And for the meaſure have a careful ear.
On eaſy numbers fix your happy choice ;
Of jarring ſounds avoid the odious noiſe :
The fulleſt verſe and the moſt labor'd ſenſe,
Diſpleaſe us, if the ear once take offence.
Our ancient verſe, as homely as the times,
Was rude, unmeaſur'd, only tagg'd with rhimes ;
Number and cadence that have ſince been ſhown,
To thoſe unpoliſh'd writers were unknown.
Fairfax was he, who, in that darker age,
By his juſt rules reſtrain'd poetic rage ;
Spencer did next in Paſtorals excel,
And taught the noble art of writing well :
To ſtricter rules the ſtanza did reſtrain,
And found for poetry a richer vein.
Then D'Avenant came ; who, with a new-found art,
Chang'd all, ſpoil'd all, and had his way a-part :

His haughty muſe all others did deſpiſe,
And thought in triumph to bear off the prize,
'Till the ſharp-ſighted critics of the times
In their Mock-Gondibert expos'd his rhimes;
The laurels he pretended did refuſe,
And daſh'd the hopes of his aſpiring muſe.
This headſtrong writer falling from on high,
Made following authors take leſs liberty.
Waller came laſt, but was the firſt whoſe art
Juſt weight and meaſure did to verſe impart;
That of a well-plac'd word could teach the force,
And ſhew'd for poetry a nobler courſe:
His happy genius did our tongue refine,
And eaſy words with pleaſing numbers join:
His verſes to good method did apply,
And chang'd hard diſcord to ſoft harmony.
Allown'd his laws; which long approv'd and try'd,
To preſent authors now may be a guide.
Tread boldly in his ſteps, ſecure from fear,
And be, like him, in your expreſſions clear.
If in your verſe you drag, and ſenſe delay,
My patience tires, my fancy goes aſtray;
And from your vain diſcourſe I turn my mind,
Nor ſearch an author troubleſome to find.
There is a kind of writer pleas'd with ſound,
Whoſe fuſtian head with clouds is compaſs'd round,

No reaſon can diſperſe them with its light:
Learn then to think ere you pretend to write.
As your idea's clear, or elſe obſcure,
The expreſſion follows perfect or impure:
What we conceive with eaſe we can expreſs;
Words to the notions flow with readineſs.
Obſerve the language well in all you write,
And ſwerve not from it in your loftieſt flight.
The ſmootheſt verſe and the exacteſt ſenſe
Diſpleaſe us, if ill Engliſh give offence:
A barbarous phraſe no reader can approve;
Nor bombaſt, noiſe, or affectation love.
In ſhort, without pure language, what you write
Can never yield us profit or delight.
Take time for thinking; never work in haſte;
And value not yourſelf for writing faſt.
A rapid poem with ſuch fury writ,
Shews want of judgment, not abounding wit.
More pleas'd we are to ſee a river lead
His gentle ſtreams along a flowery mead,
Than from high banks to hear loud torrents roar,
With foamy waters on a muddy ſhore.
Gently make haſte, of labor not afraid;
A hundred times conſider what you've ſaid:

Poliſh, repoliſh, every color lay,
And ſometimes add, but oftener take away.
'Tis not enough when ſwarming faults are writ,
That here and there are ſcatter'd ſparks of wit;
Each object muſt be fix'd in the due place,
And differing parts have correſponding grace:
Till by a curious art diſpos'd, we find
One perfect whole, of all the pieces join'd.
Keep to your ſubject cloſe in all you ſay;
Nor for a ſounding ſentence ever ſtray.
The public cenſure for your writings fear,
And to yourſelf be critic moſt ſevere.
Fantaſtic wits their darling follies love;
But find you faithful friends that will reprove,
That on your works may look with careful eyes,
And of your faults be zealous enemies:
Lay by an author's pride and vanity,
And from a friend a flatterer deſcry,
Who ſeems to like, but means not what he ſays:
Embrace true counſel, but ſuſpect falſe praiſe.
A ſycophant will every thing admire:
Each verſe, each ſentence ſets his ſoul on fire:
All is divine! there's not a word amiſs!
He ſhakes with joy, and weeps with tenderneſs,
He overpow'rs you with his mighty praiſe.
Truth never moves in thoſe impetuous ways:

A faithful friend is careful of your fame,
And freely will your heedleſs errors blame;
He cannot pardon a neglected line,
But verſe to rule and order will confine.
Reprove of words the too-affected ſound;
Here the ſenſe flags, and your expreſſion's round,
Your fancy tires, and your diſcourſe grows vain,
Your terms improper make them them juſt and plain.
Thus 'tis a faithful friend will freedom uſe;
But authors, partial to their darling muſe,
Think to protect it they have juſt pretence,
And at your friendly counſel take offence.
Said you of this, that the expreſſion's flat?
Your ſervant, ſir, you muſt excuſe me that,
He anſwers you. This word has here no grace,
Pray leave it out: That, ſir, 's the propereſt place.
This turn I like not: 'Tis approv'd by all.
Thus, reſolute not from one fault to fall,
If there's a ſyllable of which you doubt,
'Tis a ſure reaſon not to blot it out.
Yet ſtill he ſays you may his faults confute,
And over him your power is abſolute:
But of his feign'd humility take heed;
'Tis a bait laid to make you hear him read.

And when he leaves you happy in his muſe,
Reſtleſs he runs ſome other to abuſe,
And often finds; for in our ſcribbling times
No fool can want a ſot to praiſe his rhymes:
The flatteſt work has ever in the court,
Met with ſome zealous aſs for its ſupport:
And in all times a forward ſcribbling fop
Has found ſome greater fool to cry him up.

CANTO II.

PASTORAL.

AS a fair nymph, when riſing from her bed,
With ſparkling diamonds dreſſes not her head,
But without gold, or pearl, or coſtly ſcents,
Gathers from neighboring fields her ornaments:
Such, lovely in its dreſs, but plain withal,
Ought to appear a perfect Paſtoral:
Its humble method nothing has of fierce,
But hates the rattling of a lofty verſe:
There native beauty pleaſes, and excites,
And never with harſh ſounds the ear affrights.

But in this ſtyle a poet often ſpent,
In rage throws by his rural inſtrument,
And vainly, when diſorder'd thoughts abound,
Amidſt the Eclogue makes the trumpet ſound:
Pan flies alarm'd into the neighboring woods,
And frighted nymphs dive down into the floods.
Oppos'd to this another, low in ſtyle,
Makes ſhepherds ſpeak a language baſe and vile:
His writings, flat and heavy, without ſound,
Kiſſing the earth, and creeping on the ground;
You'd ſwear that Randal in his ruſtic ſtrains,
Again was quavering to the country ſwains,
And changing without care of ſound or dreſs,
Strephon and Phyllis, into Tom and Beſs.
'Twixt theſe extremes 'tis hard to keep the right;
For guides take Virgil, and read Theocrite:
Be their juſt writings by the Gods inſpir'd,
Your conſtant pattern practis'd and admir'd.
By them alone you'll eaſily comprehend
How poets, without ſhame, may condeſcend
To ſing of gardens, fields, of flow'rs, and fruit,
To ſtir up ſhepherds, and to tune the flute;
Of love's rewards to tell the happy hour,
Daphne a tree, Narciſſus made a flower,

And by what means the Eclogue yet has power
To make the woods worthy a conqueror:
This of their writings is the grace and flight;
Their risings lofty, yet not out of sight.

ELEGY.

The Elegy that loves a mournful style,
With unbound hair weeps at a funeral pile,
It paints the lovers torments and delights,
A mistress flatters, threatens and invites:
But well these raptures if you'll make us see,
You must know love as well as poetry.
I hate those lukewarm authors, whose forc'd fire
In a cold style describe a hot desire,
That sigh by rule, and raging in cold blood
Their sluggish muse whip to an amorous mood:
Their feign'd transports appear but flat and vain;
They always sigh, and always hug their chain,
Adore their prison, and their sufferings bless,
Make sense and reason quarrel as they please.
'Twas not of old in this affected tone,
That smooth Tibullus made his amorous moan;
Nor Ovid, when instructed from above,
By nature's rules he taught the art of love.
The heart in Elegies forms the discourse,

ODE.

The Ode is bolder, and has greater force.
Mounting to heaven in her ambitious flight,
Amongſt the Gods and heroes takes delight;
Of Piſa's wreſtlers tells the ſinewy force,
And ſings the duſty conqueror's glorious courſe:
To Simois' ſtreams does fierce Achilles bring,
And makes the Ganges bow to Britain's king.
Sometimes ſhe flies like an induſtrious bee,
And robs the flowers by nature's chemiſtry,
Deſcribes the ſhepherd's dances, feaſts, and bliſs,
And boaſts from Phyllis to ſurpriſe a kiſs,
When gently ſhe reſiſts with feign'd remorſe,
That what ſhe grants may ſeem to be by force:
Her generous ſtyle at random oft will part,
And by a brave diſorder ſhows her art.
Unlike thoſe fearful poets, whoſe cold rhyme
In all their raptures keep exacteſt time,
That ſing th' illuſtrious hero's mighty praiſe
(Lean writers!) by the terms of weeks and days;
And dare not from leaſt circumſtances part,
But take all towns by ſtricteſt rules of art:
Apollo drives thoſe fops from his abode;
And ſome have ſaid that once the humorous god

Reſolving all ſuch ſcribblers to confound,
For the ſhort Sonnet order'd this ſtrict bound:
Set rules for the juſt meaſure, and the time,
The eaſy running and alternate rhyme;
But above all, thoſe licences deny'd
Which in theſe writings the lame ſenſe ſupply'd;
Forbad an uſeleſs line ſhould find a place,
Or a repeated word appear with grace.
A faultleſs Sonnet, finiſh'd thus, would be
Worth tedious volumes of looſe poetry.
A hundred ſcribbling authors without ground,
Believe they have this only phœnix found:
When yet th' exacteſt ſcarce have two or three,
Among whole tomes from faults and cenſure free.
The reſt but little read, regarded leſs,
Are ſhovell'd to the paſtry from the preſs.
Cloſing the ſenſe within the meaſur'd time,
'Tis hard to fit the reaſon to the rhyme.

EPIGRAM.

The Epigram with little art compos'd,
Is one good ſentence in a diſtich clos'd.
Theſe points that by Italians firſt were priz'd,
Our ancient authors knew not, or deſpis'd:
The vulgar dazled with their glaring light,
To their falſe pleaſures quickly they invite;

But public favor ſo increas'd their pride,
They overwhelm'd Parnaſſus with their tide.
The Madrigal at firſt was overcome,
And the proud Sonnet fell by the ſame doom;
With theſe grave Tragedy adorn'd her flights,
And mournful Elegy her funeral rites:
A hero never fail'd them on the ſtage,
Without his point a lover durſt not rage;
The amorous ſhepherds took more care to prove
True to his point, than faithful to their love.
Each word like Janus had a double face:
And proſe, as well as verſe, allow'd it place:
The lawyer with conceits adorn'd his ſpeech,
The parſon without quibbling could not preach.
At laſt affronted reaſon look'd about,
And from all ſerious matters ſhut them out:
Declar'd that none ſhould uſe them without ſhame,
Except a ſcattering in the Epigram;
Provided that by art, and in due time
They turn'd upon the thought, and not the rhyme.
Thus in all parts diſorders did abate:
Yet quibblers in the court had leave to prate:
Inſipid jeſters, and unpleaſant fools,
A corporation of dull punning drolls.
'Tis not, but that ſometimes a dextrous muſe
May with advantage a turn'd ſenſe abuſe,

And on a word may trifle with addreſs;
But above all avoid the fond exceſs;
And think not, when your verſe and ſenſe are lame,
With a dull point to tag your Epigram.

Each poem his perfection has apart;
The Britiſh round in plainneſs ſhows his art.
The Ballad, tho the pride of ancient time,
Has often nothing but his humorous rhyme;
The Madrigal may ſofter paſſions move,
And breathe the tender ecſtaſies of love.
Deſire to ſhow itſelf, and not to wrong,
Arm'd Virtue firſt with Satire in its tongue.

SATIRE.

Lucilius was the man who, bravely bold,
To Roman vices did this mirror hold,
Protected humble goodneſs from reproach,
Show'd worth on foot, and raſcals in the coach.
Horace his pleaſing wit to this did add,
And none uncenſur'd could be fool or mad:
Unhappy was that wretch, whoſe name might be
Squar'd to the rules of their ſharp poetry.
Perſius obſcure, but full of ſenſe and wit,
Affected brevity in all he writ:
And Juvenal, learned as thoſe times could be,
Too far did ſtretch his ſharp hyperbole;

Tho horrid truths thro all his labours ſhine,
In what he writes there's ſomething of divine,
Whether he blames the Caprean debauch,
Or of Sejanus' fall tells the approach,
Or that he makes the trembling ſenate come
To the ſtern tyrant to receive their doom;
Or Roman vice in coarſeſt habits ſhews,
And paints an empreſs reeking from the ſtews:
In all he writes appears a noble fire;
To follow ſuch a maſter then deſire.
Chaucer alone, fix'd on this ſolid baſe,
In his old ſtyle conſerves a modern grace:
Too happy, if the freedom of his rhimes
Offended not the method of our times.
The Latin writers decency neglect;
But modern authors challenge our reſpect,
And at immodeſt writings take offence,
If clean expreſſion cover not the ſenſe.
I love ſharp Satire, from obſceneneſs free;
Not impudence that preaches modeſty:
Our Engliſh, who in malice never fail,
Hence in lampoons and libels learn to rail;
Pleaſant detraction, that by ſinging goes
From mouth to mouth, and as it marches grows:
Our freedom in our poetry we ſee,
That child of joy begot by liberty.

But, vain blaſphemer, tremble when you chuſe
God for the ſubject of your impious muſe:
At laſt, thoſe jeſts which libertines invent,
Bring the lewd author to juſt puniſhment.
Even in a ſong there muſt be art and ſenſe;
Yet ſometimes we have ſeen that wine, or chance,
Have warm'd cold brains, and given dull writers mettle,
And furniſh'd out a ſcene for Mr. Settle.
But for one lucky hit, that made thee pleaſe,
Let not thy folly grow to a diſeaſe,
Nor think thyſelf a wit; for in our age
If a warm fancy does ſome fop engage,
He neither eats nor ſleeps till he has writ,
But plagues the world with his adulterate wit.
Nay 'tis a wonder, if in his dire rage,
He prints not his dull follies for the ſtage;
And in the front of all his ſenſeleſs plays,
Makes David Logan crown his head with bayes.

CANTO III.

TRAGEDY.

THERE's not a monſter bred beneath the ſky
But well-diſpos'd by art, may pleaſe the eye:
A curious workman by his ſkill divine,
From an ill object makes a good deſign.
Thus to delight us, Tragedy, in tears
For Oedipus, provokes our hopes and fears:
For parricide Oreſtes aſks relief;
And to encreaſe our pleaſure cauſes grief.
You then that in this noble art would riſe,
Come; and in lofty verſe diſpute the prize.
Would you upon the ſtage acquire renown,
And for your judges ſummon all the town?
Would you your works for ever ſhould remain,
And after ages paſt be ſought again?
In all you write, obſerve with care and art
To move the paſſions, and incline the heart.
If in a labor'd act, the pleaſing rage
Cannot our hopes and fears by turns engage,
Nor in our mind a feeling pity raiſe;
In vain with learned ſcenes you fill your plays:

Your cold diſcourſe can never move the mind
Of a ſtern critic, naturally unkind;
Who juſtly tir'd with your pedantic flight,
Or falls aſleep, or cenſures all you write.
The ſecret is, attention firſt to gain;
To move our minds, and then to entertain:
That from the very opening of the ſcenes,
The firſt may ſhow us what the author means.
I'm tir'd to ſee an actor on the ſtage,
That knows not whether he's to laugh or rage;
Who, an intrigue unravelling in vain,
Inſtead of pleaſing keeps my mind in pain.
I'd rather much the nauſeous dunce ſhould ſay
Downright, my name is Hector in the play;
Than with a maſs of miracles, ill-join'd,
Confound my ears and not inſtruct my mind.
The ſubject's never ſoon enough expreſt;
Your place of action muſt be fix'd, and reſt.
A Spaniſh poet may with good event,
In one's day's ſpace whole ages repreſent;
There oft the hero of a wandering ſtage
Begins a child, and ends the play of age:
But we that are by reaſon's rules confin'd,
Will, that with art the poem be deſign'd,

That

That unity of action, time, and place,
Keep the ſtage full, and all our labors grace.
Write not what cannot be with eaſe conceiv'd;
Some truths may be too ſtrong to be believ'd.
A fooliſh wonder cannot entertain:
My mind's not mov'd if your diſcourſe be vain.
You may relate what would offend the eye:
Seeing, indeed, would better ſatisfy;
But there are objects that a curious art
Hides from the eyes, yet offers to the heart.
The mind is moſt agreeably ſurpris'd,
When a well-woven ſubject, long diſguis'd,
You on a ſudden artfully unfold,
And give the whole another face and mould.
At firſt the Tragedy was void of art;
A ſong; where each man danc'd and ſung his part.
And of God Bacchus roaring out the praiſe,
Sought a good vintage for their jolly days:
Then wine and joy were ſeen in each man's eyes,
And a fat goat was the beſt ſinger's prize.
Theſpis was firſt, who, all beſmear'd with lee,
Began this pleaſure for poſterity:
And with his carted actors, and a ſong,
Amus'd the people as he paſs'd along.

Next Æſchylus the different perſons plac'd,
And with a better maſk his players grac'd:
Upon a theatre his verſe expreſs'd,
And ſhow'd his hero with a buſkin dreſs'd.
Then Sophocles, the genius of his age,
Increas'd the pomp and beauty of the ſtage,
Ingag'd the chorus ſong in every part,
And poliſh'd rugged verſe by rules of art:
He in the Greek did thoſe perfections gain,
Which the weak Latin never could attain,
Our pious fathers, in their prieſt-rid age,
As impious and prophane, abhorr'd the ſtage;
A troop of ſilly pilgrims, as 'tis ſaid,
Fooliſhly zealous, ſcandalouſly play'd,
Inſtead of heroes, and of love's complaints,
The angels, God, the virgin, and the ſaints.
At laſt, right reaſon did his laws reveal,
And ſhow'd the folly of their ill-plac'd zeal,
Silenc'd thoſe nonconformiſts of the age,
And rais'd the lawful heroes of the ſtage:
Only the Athenian maſk was laid aſide,
And chorus by the muſic was ſupply'd.
Ingenious love, inventive in new arts,
Mingled in plays, and quickly touch'd our hearts:
This paſſion never could reſiſtance find,
But knows the ſhorteſt paſſage to the mind.

Paint then, I'm pleas'd my hero be in love;
But let him not like a tame ſhepherd move;
Let not Achilles be like Thyrſis ſeen,
Or for a Cyrus ſhow an Artamen;
That ſtruggling oft his paſſions we may find,
The frailty, not the virtue of his mind.
Of romance heroes ſhun the low deſign;
Yet to great hearts ſome human frailties join:
Achilles muſt with Homer's heat engage;
For an affront I'm pleas'd to ſee him rage.
Thoſe little failings in your hero's heart
Show that of man and nature he has part:
To leave known rules you cannot be allow'd;
Make Agamemnon covetous and proud,
Æneas in religious rites auſtere,
Keep to each man his proper character.
Of countries and of times the humors know;
From different climates different cuſtoms grow:
And ſtrive to ſhun their fault who vainly dreſs
An antique hero like ſome modern aſs;
Who make old Romans like our Engliſh move,
Show Cato ſparkiſh, or make Brutus love.
In a romance thoſe errors are excus'd:
There 'tis enough that, reading, we're amus'd:

Rules too ſevere would there be uſeleſs found;
But the ſtrict ſcene muſt have a juſter bound:
Exact decorum we muſt always find.
If then you form ſome hero in your mind,
Be ſure your image with itſelf agree;
For what he firſt appears, he ſtill muſt be.
Affected wits will naturally incline
To paint their figures by their own deſign:
Your bully poets, bully heroes write:
Chapman in Buſſy D'Ambois took delight,
And thought perfection was to huff and fight.
Wiſe nature by variety does pleaſe;
Cloath differing paſſions in a differing dreſs:
Bold anger, in rough haughty words appears;
Sorrow is humble, and diſſolves in tears.
Make not your Hecuba with fury rage,
And ſhow a ranting grief upon the ſtage;
Or tell in vain how the rough Tanais bore
His ſevenfold waters to the Euxine ſhore:
Theſe ſwoln expreſſions, this affected noiſe,
Shows like ſome pedant that declaims to boys.
In ſorrow you muſt ſofter methods keep;
And to excite our tears yourſelf muſt weep.
Thoſe noiſy words with which ill plays abound,
Come not from hearts that are in ſadneſs drown'd.

The theatre for a young poet's rhimes
Is a bold venture in our knowing times:
An author cannot eaſily purchaſe fame;
Critics are always apt to hiſs, and blame:
You may be judg'd by every aſs in town,
The privilege is bought for half a crown.
To pleaſe, you muſt a hundred changes try;
Sometimes be humble, then muſt ſoar on high:
In noble thoughts muſt every where abound,
Be eaſy, pleaſant, ſolid, and profound:
To theſe you muſt ſurpriſing touches join,
And ſhow us a new wonder in each line;
That all, in a juſt method well-deſign'd,
May leave a ſtrong impreſſion in the mind.
Theſe are the arts that tragedy maintain:

The EPIC.

But the Heroic claims a loftier ſtrain.
In the narration of ſome great deſign,
Invention, art, and fable, all muſt join:
Here fiction muſt employ its utmoſt grace;
All muſt aſſume a body, mind, and face:
Each virtue a divinity is ſeen;
Prudence is Pallas, beauty Paphos' queen.

'Tis not a cloud from whence swift lightnings fly;
But Jupiter, that thunders from the sky:
Nor a rough storm that gives the sailor pain;
But angry Neptune plowing up the main:
Echo's no more an empty airy sound;
But a fair nymph that weeps her lover drown'd.
Thus in the endless treasure of his mind,
The poet does a thousand figures find,
Around the work his ornaments he pours,
And strows with lavish hand his opening flowers.
'Tis not a wonder if a tempest bore
The Trojan fleet against the Libyan shore;
From faithless fortune this is no surprize,
For every day 'tis common to our eyes;
But angry Juno, that she might destroy,
And overwhelm the rest of ruin'd Troy:
That Æolus with the fierce goddess join'd,
Open'd the hollow prisons of the wind;
Till angry Neptune looking o'er the main,
Rebukes the tempest, calms the waves again,
Their vessels from the dangerous quicksands steers;
These are the springs that move our hopes and fears;
Without these ornaments before our eyes,
Th'unfinew'd poem languishes and dies:

Your poet in his art will always fail,
And tell you but a dull insipid tale.
In vain have our mistaken authors try'd
To lay these ancient ornaments aside,
Thinking our God, and prophets that he sent,
Might act like those the poets did invent,
To fright poor readers in each line with hell,
And talk of Satan, Ashtaroth, and Bel;
The mysteries which Christians must believe,
Disdain such shifting pageants to receive:
The gospel offers nothing to our thoughts
But penitence, or punishment for faults;
And mingling falshoods with those mysteries,
Would make our sacred truths appear like lies.
Besides, what pleasure can it be to hear
The howlings of repining Lucifer,
Whose rage at your imagin'd hero flies,
And oft with God himself disputes the prize?
Tasso you'll say has done it with applause?
It is not here I mean to judge his cause:
Yet tho our age has so extoll'd his name,
His works had never gain'd immortal fame,
If holy Godfrey in his ecstasies
Had only conquer'd Satan on his knees;

If Tancred and Armida's pleasing form
Did not his melancholy theme adorn.
'Tis not, that christian poems ought to be
Fill'd with the fictions of idolatry;
But in a common subject to reject
The gods, and heathen ornaments neglect;
To banish Tritons who the seas invade,
To take Pan's whistle, or the fates degrade,
To hinder Charon in his leaky boat
To pass the shepherd with the man of note,
Is with vain scruples to disturb your mind,
And search perfection you can never find:
As well they may forbid us to present
Prudence or justice for an ornament,
To paint old Janus with his front of brass,
And take from time his scythe, his wings and glass.
And every where as 'twere idolatry,
Banish descriptions from our poetry.
Leave them their pious follies to pursue;
But let our reason such vain fears subdue:
And let us not, amongst our vanities,
Of the true God create a God of lies.
In fable we a thousand pleasures see,
And the smooth names seem made for poetry;

As Hector, Alexander, Helen, Phyllis,
Ulysses, Agamemnon, and Achilles:
In such a crowd, the poet were to blame
To chuse king Chilperic for his hero's name.
Sometimes the name being well or ill apply'd,
Will the whole fortune of your work decide.
Would you your reader never should be tir'd?
Chuse some great hero, fit to be admir'd,
In courage signal, and in virtue bright,
Let e'en his very failings give delight;
Let his great actions our attention bind,
Like Cæsar, or like Scipio, frame his mind,
And not like Oedipus his perjur'd race;
A common conqueror is a theme too base.
Chuse not your tale of accidents too full;
Too much variety may make it dull:
Achilles' rage alone, when wrought with skill,
Abundantly does a whole Iliad fill.
Be your narrations lively, short, and smart;
In your descriptions show your noblest art:
There 'tis your poetry may be employ'd;
Yet you must trivial accidents avoid.
Nor imitate that fool, who, to describe
The wondrous marches of the chosen tribe,
Plac'd on the sides to see their armies pass,
The fishes staring thro the liquid glass;

Deſcrib'd a child, who with his little hand,
Pick'd up the ſhining pebbles from the ſand.
Such objects are too mean to ſtay our ſight;
Allow your work a juſt and nobler flight.
Be your beginning plain; and take good heed
Too ſoon you mount not on the airy ſteed;
Nor tell your reader in a thund'ring verſe,
"I ſing the conqueror of the univerſe."
What can an author after this produce?
The laboring mountain muſt bring forth a mouſe.
Much better are we pleas'd with his addreſs,
Who, without making ſuch vaſt promiſes,
Says, in an eaſier ſtyle and plainer ſenſe,
"I ſing the combats of that pious prince
"Who from the Phrygian coaſt his armies bore,
"And landed firſt on the Lavinian ſhore."
His opening muſe ſets not the world on fire,
And yet performs more than we can require:
Quickly you'll hear him celebrate the fame,
And future glory of the Roman name;
Of Styx and Acheron deſcribe the floods,
And Cæſar's wand'ring in th' Elyſian woods:
With figures numberleſs his ſtory grace,
And every thing in beauteous colors trace.
At once you may be pleaſing and ſublime:
I hate a heavy melancholy rhime:

I'd rather read Orlando's comic tale,
Than a dull author always ſtiff and ſtale,
Who thinks himſelf diſhonor'd in his ſtyle,
If on his works the graces do but ſmile.
'Tis ſaid, that Homer, matchleſs in his art,
Stole Venus' girdle to engage the heart:
His works indeed vaſt treaſures do unfold,
And whatſoe'er he touches turns to gold:
All in his hands new beauty does acquire;
He always pleaſes, and can never tire.
A happy warmth he every where may boaſt;
Nor is he in too long digreſſions loſt:
His verſes without rule a method find,
And of themſelves appear in order join'd:
All without trouble anſwers his intent;
Each ſyllable is tending to th'event.
Let his example your endeavours raiſe:
To love his writings is a kind of praiſe.
A poem, where we all perfections find,
Is not the work of a fantaſtic mind:
There muſt be care, and time, and ſkill, and pains;
Not the firſt heat of unexperienc'd brains.
Yet ſometimes artleſs poets, when the rage
Of a warm fancy does their minds engage,
Puff'd with vain pride, preſume they underſtand,
And boldly take the trumpet in their hand;

Their fuſtian muſe each accident confounds;
Nor can ſhe fly, but riſe by leaps and bounds,
Till their ſmall ſtock of learning quickly ſpent,
Their poem dies for want of nouriſhment.
In vain mankind the hot-brain'd fool decries,
No branding cenſures can unveil his eyes;
With impudence the laurel they invade,
Reſolv'd to like the monſters they have made.
Virgil, compar'd to them, is flat and dry;
And Homer underſtood not poetry:
Againſt their merit if this age rebel,
To future times for juſtice they appeal.
But waiting till mankind ſhall do them right,
And bring their works triumphantly to light;
Neglected heaps we in bye-corners lay,
Where they become to worms and moths a prey;
Forgot, in duſt and cobwebs let them reſt,
Whilſt we return from whence we firſt digreſt.

The great ſucceſs which tragic writers found,
In Athens firſt the comedy renown'd,
Th' abuſive Grecian there, by pleaſing ways,
Diſpers'd his natural malice in his plays:
Wiſdom and virtue, honor, wit, and ſenſe,
Were ſubject to buffooning inſolence:
Poets were publicly approv'd, and ſought,
That vice extoll'd, and virtue ſet at nought;

A Socrates himſelf in that looſe age,
Was made the paſtime of a ſcoffing ſtage.
At laſt the public took in hand the cauſe,
And cur'd this madneſs by the power of laws;
Forbad at any time, or any place,
To name the perſon, or deſcribe the face.
The ſtage its ancient fury thus let fall,
And comedy diverted without gall:
By mild reproofs recover'd minds diſeas'd,
And ſparing perſons innocently pleas'd.
Each one was nicely ſhewn in this new glaſs,
And ſmil'd to think he was not meant the aſs:
A miſer oft would laugh at firſt, to find
A faithful draught of his own ſordid mind;
And fops were with ſuch care and cunning writ,
They lik'd the piece for which themſelves did ſit.
You then that would the comic laurels wear,
To ſtudy nature be your only care:
Whoe'er knows man, and by a curious art
Diſcerns the hidden ſecrets of the heart;
He who obſerves, and naturally can paint
The jealous fool, the fawning ſycophant,
A ſober wit, an enterpriſing aſs,
A humorous Otter, or a Hudibras;
May ſafely in thoſe noble liſts engage,
And make them act and ſpeak upon the ſtage.

Strive to be natural in all you write,
And paint with colors that may pleaſe the ſight,
Nature in various figures does abound;
And in each mind are diff'rent humors found:
A glance, a touch, diſcovers to the wiſe;
But every man has not diſcerning eyes.
All-changing time does alſo change the mind;
And different ages different pleaſures find:
Youth, hot and furious, cannot brook delay,
By flattering vice is eaſily led away;
Vain in diſcourſe, inconſtant in deſire,
In cenſure, raſh; in pleaſures, all on fire.
The manly age does ſteadier thoughts enjoy;
Power and ambition do his ſoul employ:
Againſt the turns of fate he ſets his mind;
And by the paſt the future hopes to find.
Decrepid age ſtill adding to his ſtores,
For others heaps the treaſure he adores,
In all his actions keeps a frozen pace;
Paſt times extols, the preſent to debaſe:
Incapable of pleaſures youth abuſe,
In others blames what age does him refuſe.
Your actors muſt by reaſon be control'd;
Let young men ſpeak like young, old men like old:
Obſerve the town, and ſtudy well the court;
For thither various characters reſort:

Thus 'twas great Johnſon purchas'd his renown,
And in his art had born away the crown;
If, leſs deſirous of the people's praiſe,
He had not with low farce debas'd his plays;
Mixing dull buffoonry with wit refin'd,
And Harlequin with noble Terence join'd.
When in the Fox I ſee the tortois hiſt,
I loſe the author of the Alchemiſt.
The comic wit, born with a ſmiling air,
Muſt tragic grief and pompous verſe forbear;
Yet may he not, as on a market-place,
With baudy juſts amuſe the populace:
With well-bred converſation you muſt pleaſe,
And your intrigue unravell'd be with eaſe:
Your action ſtill ſhould reaſon's rules obey,
Nor in an empty ſcene may loſe its way.
Your humble ſtyle muſt ſometimes gently riſe;
And your diſcourſe ſententious be, and wiſe:
The paſſions muſt to nature be confin'd;
And ſcenes to ſcenes with artful weaving join'd.
Your wit muſt not unſeaſonably play;
But follow bus'neſs, never lead the way.
Obſerve how Terence does this error ſhun;
A careful father chides his amorous ſon:
Then ſee that ſon, whom no advice can move,
Forget thoſe orders, and purſue his love:

'Tis not a well-drawn picture we diſcover:
'Tis a true ſon, a father, and a lover.
I like an author that reforms the age;
And keeps the right decorum of the ſtage;
That always pleaſes by juſt reaſon's rule:
But for a tedious droll, a quibbling fool,
Who with low nauſeous baudry fills his plays;
Let him be gone, and on two treſſels raiſe
Some Smithfield ſtage, where he may act his pranks,
And make Jack-Puddings ſpeak to mountebanks.

CANTO IV.

IN Florence dwelt a doctor of renown,
The ſcourge of God, and terror of the town,
Who all the cant of phyſic had by heart,
And never murder'd but by rules of art.
The public miſchief was his private gain;
Children their ſlaughter'd parents ſought in vain:
A brother here his poiſon'd brother wept;
Some bloodleſs dy'd, and ſome by opium ſlept.

Colds,

Colds, at his presence, would to frenzies turn;
And agues, like malignant fevers, burn.
Hated, at last, his practice gives him o'er;
One friend, unkill'd by drugs, of all his store,
In his new country-house affords him place;
'Twas a rich abbot, and a building ass:
Here first the doctor's talent came in play,
He seems inspir'd, and talks like Wren or May:
Of this new portico condemns the face,
And turns the entrance to a better place;
Designs the stair-case at the other end,
His friend approves, does for his mason send.
He comes; the doctor's arguments prevail.
In short, to finish this our humorous tale,
He Galen's dangerous science does reject,
And from ill doctor turns good architect.

In this example we may have our part:
Rather be mason, 'tis a useful art!
Than a dull poet; for that trade accurst,
Admits no mean betwixt the best and worst.
In other sciences, without disgrace,
A candidate may fill a second place;
But poetry no medium can admit,
No reader suffers an indifferent wit:

The ruin'd ſtationers againſt him baul,
And Herringman degrades him from his ſtall.
Burleſque, at leaſt our laughter may excite:
But a cold writer never can delight.
The Counter-Scuffle has more wit and art,
Than the ſtiff formal ſtyle of Gondibert.
Be not affected with that empty praiſe
Which your vain flatterers will ſometimes raiſe,
And when you read, with ecſtaſy will ſay,
"The finiſh'd piece! the admirable play!"
Which, when expos'd to cenſure and to light,
Cannot endure a critic's piercing ſight.
A hundred authors fates have been foretold,
And Shadwell's works are printed, but not ſold.
Hear all the world; conſider every thought;
A fool by chance may ſtumble on a fault:
Yet, when Apollo does your muſe inſpire,
Be not impatient to expoſe your fire;
Nor imitate the Settles of our times,
Thoſe tuneful readers of their own dull rhimes.
Who ſeize on all th' acquaintance they can meet,
And ſtop the paſſengers that walk the ſtreet:
There is no ſanctuary you can chuſe
For a defence from their purſuing muſe.
I've ſaid before, be patient when they blame;
To alter for the better is no ſhame.

Yet yield not to a fool's impertinence :
Sometimes conceited ſceptics void of ſenſe,
By their falſe taſte condemn ſome finiſh'd part,
And blame the nobleſt flights of wit and art,
In vain their fond opinions you deride,
With their lov'd follies they are ſatisfy'd ;
And their weak judgment, void of ſenſe and light,
Thinks nothing can eſcape their feeble ſight :
Their dangerous counſels do not cure, but wound ;
To ſhun the ſtorm they run your verſe aground,
And thinking to eſcape a rock, are drown'd.
Chuſe a ſure judge to cenſure what you write,
Whoſe reaſon leads, and knowlege gives you light,
Whoſe ſteady hand will prove your faithful guide,
And touch the darling follies you would hide :
He, in your doubts, will carefully adviſe,
And clear the miſt before your feeble eyes.
'Tis he will tell you, to what noble height
A generous muſe may ſometimes take her flight ;
When too much fetter'd with the rules of art,
May from her ſtricter bounds and limits part:
But ſuch a perfect judge is hard to ſee,
And every rhimer knows not poetry ;
Nay ſome there are for writing verſe extoll'd,
Who know not Lucan's droſs from Virgil's gold.

Would you in this great art acquire renown?
Authors obſerve the rules I here lay down.
In prudent leſſons every where abound;
With pleaſant join the uſeful and the ſound:
A ſober reader a vain tale will ſlight;
He ſeeks as well inſtruction as delight.
Let all your thoughts to virtue be confin'd,
Still offering nobler figures to our mind:
I like not thoſe looſe writers, who employ
Their guilty muſe, good manners to deſtroy;
Who with falſe colors ſtill deceive our eyes,
And ſhow us vice dreſs'd in a fair diſguiſe.
Yet do I not their ſullen muſe approve,
Who from all modeſt writings baniſh love;
That ſtript the play-houſe of its chief intrigue,
And make a murderer of Roderigue:
The lighteſt love, if decently expreſt,
Will raiſe no vitious motions in our breaſt.
Dido in vain may weep, and aſk relief;
I blame her folly, whilſt I ſhare her grief.
A virtuous author, in his charming art,
To pleaſe the ſenſe needs not corrupt the heart:
His heat will never cauſe a guilty fire:
To follow virtue then be your deſire,
In vain your art and vigor are expreſt;
The obſcene expreſſion ſhows the infected breaſt.

But above all baſe jealouſies avoid,
In which detracting poets are employ'd.
A noble wit dares liberally commend;
And ſcorns to grudge at his deſerving friend.
Baſe rivals, who true wit and merit hate,
Caballing ſtill againſt it with the great,
Maliciouſly aſpire to gain renown,
By ſtanding up, and pulling others down.
Never debaſe yourſelf by treacherous ways,
Nor by ſuch abject methods ſeek for praiſe:
Let not your only buſineſs be to be write;
Be virtuous, juſt, and in your friends delight.
'Tis not enough your poems be admir'd;
But ſtrive your converſation be deſir'd:
Write for immortal fame; nor ever chuſe
Gold for the object of a generous muſe.
I know a noble wit may, without crime,
Receive a lawful tribute for his time:
Yet I abhor thoſe writers, who deſpiſe
Their honor; and alone their profits prize;
Who their Apollo baſely will degrade,
And of a noble ſcience make a trade.
Before kind reaſon did her light diſplay,
And government taught mortals to obey,

Men, like wild beaſts, did nature's laws purſue,
They fed on herbs, and drink from rivers drew;
Their brutal force, on luſt and rapine bent,
Committed murder without puniſhment:
Reaſon at laſt by her all-conquering arts,
Reduc'd theſe ſavages, and tun'd their hearts;
Mankind from bogs, and woods, and caverns calls,
And towns and cities fortifies with walls:
Thus fear of juſtice made proud rapine ceaſe,
And ſhelter'd innocence by laws and peace.
Theſe benefits from poets we receiv'd,
From whence are rais'd thoſe fictions ſince believ'd,
That Orpheus, by his ſoft harmonious ſtrains,
Tam'd the fierce tigers of the Thracian plains;
Amphion's notes, by their melodious powers,
Drew rocks and woods, and rais'd the Theban towers:
Theſe miracles from numbers did ariſe:
Since which, in verſe heaven taught his myſteries,
And by a prieſt, poſſeſs'd with rage divine,
Apollo ſpoke from his prophetic ſhrine.
Soon after Homer the old heroes prais'd,
And noble minds by great examples rais'd;
Then Heſiod did his Grecian ſwains incline
To till the fields, and prune the bounteous vine.

Thus useful rules were by the poets aid,
In easy numbers to rude men convey'd,
And pleasingly their precepts did impart;
First charm'd the ear, and then engag'd the heart:
The muses thus their reputation rais'd,
And with just gratitude in Greece were prais'd.
With pleasure mortals did their wonders see,
And sacrific'd to their divinity;
But want, at last, base flattery entertain'd,
And old Parnassus with this vice was stain'd:
Desire of gain dazzling the poets eyes,
Their works were fill'd with fulsome flatteries.
Thus needy wits a vile revenue made,
And verse became a mercenary trade.
Debase not with so mean a vice thy art:
If gold must be the idol of thy heart,
Fly, fly th' unfruitful Heliconian strand,
Those streams are not inrich'd with golden sand:
Great wits, as well as warriors, only gain
Laurels and honors for their toil and pain:
But what? an author cannot live on fame,
Or pay a reckoning with a lofty name:
A poet to whom fortune is unkind,
Who when he goes to bed has hardly din'd;

Takes little pleaſure in Parnaſſus' dreams,
Or reliſhes the Heliconian ſtreams.
Horace had eaſe and plenty when he writ,
And free from cares for money or for meat,
Did not expect his dinner from his wit.
'Tis true; but verſe is cheriſh'd by the great,
And now none famiſh who deſerve to eat:
What can we fear, when virtue, arts, and ſenſe,
Receive the ſtars propitious influence;
When a ſharp-ſighted prince, by early grants
Rewards your merits, and prevents your wants?
Sing then his glory, celebrate his fame;
Your nobleſt theme is his immortal name.
Let mighty Spencer raiſe his reverend head,
Cowly and Denham ſtart up from the dead;
Waller his age renew, and offerings bring,
Our monarch's praiſe let bright-ey'd virgins ſing;
Let Dryden with new rules our ſtage refine,
And his great models form by this deſign:
But where's a ſecond Virgil, to rehearſe
Our hero's glories in his epic verſe?
What Orpheus ſing his triumphs o'er the main,
And make the hills and foreſts move again;
Shew his bold fleet on the Batavian ſhore,
And Holland trembling as his cannons roar;

Paint Europe's ballance in his ſteady hand,
Whilſt the two worlds in expectation ſtand
Of peace or war, that wait on his command?
But as I ſpeak new glories ſtrike my eyes,
Glories, which heaven itſelf does give, and prize,
Bleſſings of peace; that with their milder rays
Adorn his reign, and bring Saturnian days:
Now let rebellion, diſcord, vice, and rage,
That have in patriots forms debauch'd our age,
Vaniſh with all the miniſters of hell:
His rays their poiſonous vapors ſhall diſpel:
'Tis he alone our ſafety did create,
His own firm ſoul ſecur'd the nation's fate,
Oppos'd to all the Bout'feaus of the ſtate.
Authors for him your great endeavours raiſe;
The loftieſt numbers will but reach his praiſe.
For me, whoſe verſe in ſatire has been bred,
And never durſt heroic meaſures tread;
Yet you ſhall ſee me, in that famous field,
With eyes and voice, my beſt aſſiſtance yield:
Offer your leſſons, that my infant muſe
Learnt, when ſhe Horace for her guide did chuſe:
Second your zeal with wiſhes, heart, and eyes,
And afar off hold up the glorious prize.
But pardon too, if zealous for the right,
A ſtrict obſerver of each noble flight,

From the fine gold I ſeparate the allay,
And ſhow how haſty writers ſometimes ſtray:
Apter to blame, than knowing how to mend;
A ſharp, but yet a neceſſary friend.

THRENODIA AUGUSTALIS:

A

FUNERAL PINDARIC POEM, ſacred to the happy Memory of King CHARLES II.

I.

THUS long my grief has kept me dumb:
Sure there's a lethargy in mighty woe,
Tears ſtand congeal'd, and cannot flow;
And the ſad ſoul retires into her inmoſt room:
Tears, for a ſtroke foreſeen, afford relief;
But, unprovided for a ſudden blow,
Like Niobe we marble grow;
And petrify with grief.

Our Britiſh heaven was all ſerene,
No threatning cloud was nigh,
Not the leaſt wrinkle to deform the ſky;
We liv'd as unconcern'd and happily
As the firſt age in nature's golden ſcene;
Supine amidſt our flowing ſtore,
We ſlept ſecurely, and we dreamt of more:
When ſuddenly the thunder-clap was heard,
It took us unprepar'd and out of guard,
Already loſt before we fear'd.
Th' amazing news of Charles at once were ſpread,
At once the general voice declar'd,
"Our gracious prince was dead."
No ſickneſs know before, no ſlow diſeaſe,
To ſoften grief by juſt degrees:
But like an hurricane on Indian ſeas,
The tempeſt roſe;
An unexpected burſt of woes:
With ſcarce a breathing ſpace betwixt,
This now becalm'd, and periſhing the next.
As if great Atlas from his height
Should ſink beneath his heavenly weight,
And with a mighty flaw, the flaming wall
As once it ſhall,
Should gape immenſe, and ruſhing down, o'erwhelm this nether ball;

So ſwift and ſo ſurpriſing was our fear:
Out Atlas fell indeed; but Hercules was near.

II.

His pious brother, ſure the beſt
Who ever bore that name,
Was newly riſen from his reſt,
And with a fervent flame,
His uſual morning vows had juſt addreſt
For his dear ſovereign's health;
And hop'd to have them heard,
In long increaſe of years,
In honor, fame, and wealth:
Guiltleſs of greatneſs thus he always pray'd,
Nor knew nor wiſh'd thoſe vows he made,
On his own head ſhould be repay'd.
Soon as th'ill-omen'd rumor reach'd his ear,
Ill news is wing'd with fate, and flies apace,
Who can deſcribe th'amazement of his face!
Horror in all his pomp was there,
Mute and magnificent without a tear:
And then the hero firſt was ſeen to fear.
Half unarray'd he ran to his relief,
So haſty and ſo artleſs was his grief:

Approaching greatneſs met him with her charms
Of power and future ſtate;
But look'd ſo ghaſtly in a brother's fate,
He ſhook her from his arms.
Arriv'd within the mournful room, he ſaw
A wild diſtraction, void of awe,
And arbitrary grief unbounded by a law.
God's image, God's anointed lay
Without motion, pulſe, or breath,
A ſenſeleſs lump of ſacred clay,
An image now of death.
Amidſt his ſad attendants groans and cries,
The lines of that ador'd forgiving face,
Diſtorted from their native grace;
An iron ſlumber ſat on his majeſtic eyes.
The pious duke----Forbear, audacious muſe,
No terms thy feeble art can uſe
Are able to adorn ſo vaſt a woe:
The grief of all the reſt like ſubject-grief did ſhow,
His like a ſovereign did tranſcend;
No wife, no brother, ſuch a grief could know,
Nor any name but friend.

III.

O wondrous changes of a fatal ſcene,
Still varying to the laſt!
Heaven, tho its hard decree was paſt,
Seem'd pointing to a gracious turn agen:
And death's uplifted arm arreſted in its haſte.
Heaven half repented of the doom,
And almoſt griev'd it had foreſeen,
What by foreſight it will'd eternally to come.
Mercy above did hourly plead
For her reſemblance here below;
And mild forgiveneſs intercede
To ſtop the coming blow.
New miracles approach'd th'etherial throne,
Such as his wondrous life had oft and lately known,
And urg'd that ſtill they might be ſhown.
On earth his pious brother pray'd and vow'd,
Renouncing greatneſs at ſo dear a rate,
Himſelf defending what he could,
From all the glories of his future fate.
With him th' innumerable crowd,
Of armed prayers
Knock'd at the gates of heaven, and knock'd aloud;
The firſt well-meaning rude petitioners.

All for his life aſſail'd the throne,
All would have brib'd the ſkies by offering up
their own.
So great a throng not heaven itſelf could bar;
'Twas almoſt born by force as in the giants' war.
The prayers, at leaſt, for his reprieve were heard;
His death, like Hezekiah's, was deferr'd:
Againſt the ſun the ſhadow went;
Five days, thoſe five degrees, were lent
To form our patience and prepare th' event.
The ſecond cauſes took the ſwift command,
The medicinal head, the ready hand,
All eager to perform their part;
All but eternal doom was conquer'd by their art:
Once more the fleeting ſoul came back
T' inſpire the mortal frame;
And in the body took a doubtful ſtand,
Doubtful and hovering like expiring flame,
That mounts and falls by turns, and trembles o'er
the brand.

IV.

The joyful ſhort-liv'd news ſoon ſpread around,
Took the ſame train, the ſame impetuous bound:
The drooping town in ſmiles again was dreſt,
Gladneſs in every face expreſt,
Their eyes before their tongues confeſt. Men

Men met each other with erected look,
The ſteps were higher that they took,
Friends to congratulate their friends made haſte;
And long inveterate foes ſaluted as they paſt:
Above the reſt heroic James appear'd
Exalted more, becauſe he more had fear'd:
His manly heart, whoſe noble pride
Was ſtill above
Diſſembled hate or varniſh'd love,
Its more than common tranſport could not hide;
But like an eagre rode in triumph o'er the tide.
Thus, in alternate courſe,
The tyrant paſſions, hope and fear,
Did in extremes appear,
And flaſh'd upon the ſoul with equal force.
Thus, at half ebb, a rolling ſea
Returns and wins upon the ſhore;
The watry herd, affrighted at the roar,
Reſt on their fins awhile, and ſtay,
Then backward take their wondring way:
The prophet wonders more than they,
At prodigies but rarely ſeen before,
And cries a king muſt fall, or kingdoms change
their ſway.

Such were our counter-tides at land, and ſo
Preſaging of the fatal blow,
In their prodigious ebb and flow.
The royal ſoul, that like the laboring moon,
By charms of art was hurried down,
Forc'd with regret to leave her native ſphere,
Came but a while on liking here:
Soon weary of the painful ſtrife,
And made but faint eſſays of life:
An evening light
Soon ſhut in night;
A ſtrong diſtemper, and a weak relief,
Short intervals of joy, and long returns of grief.

V.

The ſons of art all medicines try'd,
And every noble remedy apply'd;
With emulation each eſſay'd
His utmoſt ſkill, nay more they pray'd:
Never was loſing game with better conduct play'd.
Death never won a ſtake with greater toil,
Nor e'er was fate ſo near a foil:
But like a fortreſs on a rock,
The impregnable diſeaſe their vain attempts did mock;
They min'd it near, they batter'd from afar
With all the cannon of the medicinal war;

No gentle means could be eſſay'd,
'Twas beyond parly when the ſiege was laid:
Th' extremeſt ways they firſt ordain,
Preſcribing ſuch intolerable pain,
As none but Cæſar could ſuſtain:
Undaunted Cæſar underwent
The malice of their art, nor bent
Beneath whate'er their pious rigor could invent:
In five ſuch days he ſuffer'd more
Than any ſuffer'd in his reign before;
More, infinitely more, than he,
Againſt the worſt of rebels, could decree,
A traitor or twice pardon'd enemy.
Now art was tir'd without ſucceſs,
No racks could make the ſtubborn malady confeſs.
The vain inſurancers of life,
And he who moſt perform'd and promis'd leſs,
Even Short himſelf forſook the unequal ſtrife.
Death and deſpair was in their looks,
No longer they conſult their memories or books;
Like helpleſs friends, who view from ſhore
The laboring ſhip, and hear the tempeſt roar;
So ſtood they with their arms acroſs;
Not to aſſiſt, but to deplore
Th' inevitable loſs.

VI.

Death was denounc'd ; that frightful ſound
Which ev'n the beſt can hardly bear,
He took the ſummons void of fear ;
And unconcern'dly caſt his eyes around ;
As if to find and dare the grieſly challenger.
What death could do he lately try'd,
When in four days he more than dy'd.
The ſame aſſurance all his words did grace ;
The ſame majeſtic mildneſs held its place :
Nor loſt the monarch in his dying face.
Intrepid, pious, merciful, and brave,
He look'd as when he conquer'd and forgave.

VII.

As if ſome angel had been ſent
To lengthen out his government,
And to foretel as many years again,
As he had number'd in his happy reign,
So chearfully he took the doom
Of his departing breath ;
Nor ſhrunk nor ſtept aſide for death :
But with unalter'd pace kept on ;
Providing for events to come,
When he reſign'd the throne.
Still he maintain'd his kingly ſtate ;
And grew familiar with his fate.

Kind, good, and gracious, to the laſt,
On all he lov'd before his dying beams he caſt:
Oh truly good, and truly great,
For glorious as he roſe benignly ſo he ſet!
All that on earth he held moſt dear,
He recommended to his care,
To whom both heaven,
The right had given
And his own love bequeath'd ſupreme command:
He took and preſt that ever loyal hand,
Which could in peace ſecure his reign,
Which could in wars his power maintain,
That hand on which no plighted vows were ever vain.
Well, for ſo great a truſt he choſe
A prince who never diſobey'd:
Not when the moſt ſevere commands were laid;
Nor want, nor exile with his duty weigh'd:
A prince on whom, if heaven its eyes could cloſe,
The welfare of the world it ſafely might repoſe.

VIII.

That king who liv'd to God's own heart,
Yet leſs ſerenely died than he:
Charles left behind no harſh decree
For ſchoolmen with laborious art
To ſalve from cruelty:

Thoſe, for whom love could no excuſes frame,
He graciouſly forgot to name.
Thus far my muſe, tho rudely, has deſign'd
Some faint reſemblance of his godlike mind:
But neither pen nor pencil can expreſs
The parting brothers' tenderneſs:
Tho that's a term too mean and low;
The bleſt above a kinder word may know:
But what they did, and what they ſaid,
The monarch who triumphant went,
The militant who ſtaid,
Like painters, when their heightning arts are ſpent,
I caſt into a ſhade.
That all-forgiving king,
The type of him above,
That inexhauſted ſpring
Of clemency and love;
Himſelf to his next ſelf accus'd,
And aſk'd that pardon which he ne'er refus'd:
For faults not his, for guilt and crimes
Of godleſs men, and of rebellious times:
For an hard exile, kindly meant,
When his ungrateful country ſent
Their beſt Camillus into baniſhment:
And forc'd their ſovereign's act, they could not his conſent.

Oh how much rather had that injur'd chief
Repeated all his ſufferings paſt!
Than hear a pardon begg'd at laſt,
Which giv'n could give the dying no relief:
He bent, he ſunk beneath his grief:
His dauntleſs heart would fain have held
From weeping, but his eyes rebell'd.
Perhaps the godlike hero in his breaſt
Diſdain'd, or was aſham'd to ſhow
So weak, ſo womaniſh a woe,
Which yet the brother and the friend ſo plenteouſly confeſt.

IX.

Amidſt that ſilent ſhower, the royal mind
An eaſy paſſage found,
And left its ſacred earth behind:
Nor murmuring groan expreſt, nor laboring ſound,
Nor any leaſt tumultuous breath;
Calm was his life, and quiet was his death.
Soft as thoſe gentle whiſpers were,
In which th' Almighty did appear;
By the ſtill voice the prophet knew him there.

That peace which made thy prosperous reign to
shine,
That peace thou leavest to thy imperial line,
That peace, oh happy shade, be ever thine!

X.

For all those joys thy restoration brought,
For all the miracles it wrought,
For all the healing balm thy mercy pour'd
Into the nations' bleeding wound,
And care that after kept it sound,
For numerous blessings yearly shower'd,
And property with plenty crown'd;
For freedom, still maintain'd alive,
Freedom which in no other land will thrive,
Freedom, an English subject's sole prerogative,
Without whose charms even peace would be
But a dull quiet slavery:
For these and more, accept our pious praise;
'Tis all the subsidy
The present age can raise,
The rest is charg'd on late posterity.
Posterity is charg'd the more,
Because the large abounding store
To them and to their heirs, is still entail'd by
thee.

Succeſſion of a long deſcent
Which chaſtely in the channels ran,
And from our demi-gods began,
Equal almoſt to time in its extent,
Thro hazards numberleſs and great,
Thou haſt deriv'd this mighty bleſſing down,
And fixt the faireſt gem that decks th'imperial crown:
Not faction, when it ſhook thy regal ſeat,
Not ſenates, inſolently loud,
Thoſe echoes of a thoughtleſs croud,
Not foreign or domeſtic treachery,
Could warp thy ſoul to their unjuſt decree.
So much thy foes thy manly mind miſtook,
Who judg'd it by the mildneſs of thy look:
Like a well-temper'd ſword it bent at will;
But kept the native toughneſs of the ſteel.

XI.

Be true, O Clio, to thy hero's name!
But draw him ſtrictly ſo,
That all who view, the piece may know;
He needs no trappings of fictitious fame:
The load's too weighty: thou may'ſt chuſe
Some parts of praiſe, and ſome refuſe:
Write, that his annals may be thought more laviſh than the muſe.

In ſcanty truth thou haſt confin'd
The virtues of a royal mind,
Forgiving, bounteous, humble, juſt, and kind:
His converſation, wit, and parts,
His knowlege in the nobleſt uſeful arts,
Were ſuch, dead authors could not give;
But habitudes of thoſe who live;
Who, lighting him, did greater lights receive:
He drain'd from all, and all they knew;
His apprehenſion quick, his judgment true:
That the moſt learn'd, with ſhame, confeſs
His knowlege more, his reading only leſs.

XII.

Amidſt the peaceful triumphs of his reign,
What wonder if the kindly beams he ſhed
Reviv'd the drooping arts again,
If ſcience rais'd her head,
And ſoft humanity that from rebellion fled:
Our iſle, indeed, too fruitful was before;
But all uncultivated lay
Out of the ſolar walk and heaven's high way;
With rank Geneva weeds run o'er,
And cockle, at the beſt, amidſt the corn it bore:
The royal huſbandman appear'd,
And plough'd, and ſow'd, and till'd,

The thorns he rooted out, the rubbiſh clear'd,
And bleſt the obedient field.
When ſtrait a double harveſt roſe;
Such as the ſwarthy Indian mows;
Or happier climates near the line,
Or paradiſe manur'd, and dreſt by hands divine.

XIII.

As when the new-born phœnix takes his way,
His rich paternal regions to ſurvey,
Of airy choriſters a numerous train
Attend his wondrous progreſs o'er the plain;
So, riſing from his father's urn,
So glorious did our Charles return;
The officious muſes came along,
A gay harmonious quire like angels ever young:
The muſe that mourns him now his happy triumph ſung,
Even they could thrive in his auſpicious reign;
And ſuch a plenteous crop they bore
Of pureſt and well winow'd grain,
As Britain never knew before.
Tho little was their hire, and light their gain,
Yet ſomewhat to their ſhare he threw;
Fed from his hand they ſung and flew,
Like birds of paradiſe that liv'd on morning dew.

Oh never let their lays his name forget!
The penſion of a prince's praiſe is great.
Live then, thou great encourager of arts,
Live ever in our thankful hearts;
Live bleſt above, almoſt invok'd below;
Live and receive this pious vow,
Our patron once, our guardian angel now.
Thou Fabius of a ſinking ſtate,
Who didſt by wiſe delays divert our fate,
When faction like a tempeſt roſe,
In death's moſt hideous form,
Then art to rage thou didſt oppoſe,
To weather out the ſtorm:
Not quitting thy ſupreme command,
Thou heldſt the rudder with a ſteady hand,
Till ſafely on the ſhore the bark did land:
The bark that all our bleſſings brought,
Charg'd with thyſelf and James, a doubly royal fraught.

XIV.

Oh frail eſtate of human things,
And ſlippery hopes below!
Now to our coſt your emptineſs we know,
For 'tis a leſſon dearly bought,
Aſſurance here is never to be ſought.
The beſt, and beſt belov'd of kings,

And beſt deſerving to be ſo,
When ſcarce he had eſcap'd the fatal blow
Of faction and conſpiracy,
Death did his promis'd hopes deſtroy:
He toil'd, he gain'd, but liv'd not to enjoy.
What miſts of Providence are theſe
Thro which we cannot ſee!
So ſaints, by ſupernatural power ſet free,
Are left at laſt in martyrdom to die;
Such is the end of oft repeated miracles.
Forgive me, heaven, that impious thought,
'Twas grief for Charles, to madneſs wrought,
That queſtion'd thy ſupreme decree!
Thou didſt his gracious reign prolong,
Even in thy ſaints and angels wrong,
His fellow-citizens of immortality:
For twelve long years of exile, born,
Twice twelve we number'd ſince his bleſt return:
So ſtrictly wer't thou juſt to pay,
Even to the driblet of a day.
Yet ſtill we murmur, and complain,
The quails and manna ſhould no longer rain;
Thoſe miracles 'twas needleſs to renew;
The choſen flock has now the promis'd land in view.

XV.

A warlike prince aſcends the regal ſtate,
A prince long exercis'd by fate:
Long may he keep, tho he obtains it late.
Heroes, in heaven's peculiar mold are caſt,
They and their poets are not form'd in haſte;
Man was the firſt in God's deſign, and man was made the laſt.
Falſe heroes, made by flattery ſo,
Heaven can ſtrike out, like ſparkles, at a blow;
But ere a prince is to perfection brought,
He coſts Omnipotence a ſecond thought.
With toil and ſweat,
With hardning cold, and forming heat,
The cyclops did their ſtrokes repeat,
Before the impenetrable ſhield was wrought.
It looks as if the Maker would not own
The noble work for his,
Before 'twas try'd and found a maſter-piece.

XVI.

View then a monarch ripen'd for a throne.
Alcides thus his race began,
O'er infancy he ſwiftly ran;
The future God at firſt was more than man:

Dangers and toils, and Juno's hate
Even o'er his cradle lay in wait;
And there he grappled firſt with fate:
In his young hands the hiſſing ſnakes he preſt,
So early was the Deity confeſt;
Thus by degrees he roſe to Jove's imperial ſeat;
Thus difficulties prove a ſoul legitimately great.
Like his, our hero's infancy was try'd;
Betimes the furies did their ſnakes provide;
And to his infant arms oppoſe
His father's rebels, and his brother's foes;
The more oppreſt the higher ſtill he roſe:
Thoſe were the preludes of his fate,
That form'd his manhood, to ſubdue
The hydra of the many-headed hiſſing crew.

XVII.

As after Numa's peaceful reign,
The martial Ancus did the ſcepter wield,
Furbiſh'd the ruſty ſword again,
Reſum'd the long-forgotten ſhield,
And led the Latins to the duſty field;
So James the drowſy genius wakes
Of Britain long entranc'd in charms,
Reſtiff and ſlumbring on its arms:
'Tis rous'd, and with a new-ſtrung nerve, the
ſpear already ſhakes.

No neighing of the warrior ſteeds,
No drum, or louder trumpet, needs
To inſpire the coward, warm the cold,
His voice, his ſole appearance makes them bold.
Gaul and Batavia dread th' impending blow;
Too well the vigor of that arm they know;
They lick the duſt and crouch beneath their fatal foe,
Long may they fear this awful prince,
And not provoke his lingring ſword;
Peace is their only ſure defence,
Their beſt ſecurity his word:
In all the changes of his doubtful ſtate,
His truth, like heaven's, was kept inviolate,
For him to promiſe is to make it fate.
His valor can triumph o'er land and main;
With broken oaths his fame he will not ſtain;
With conqueſt baſely bought, and with inglorious gain.

XVIII.

For once, O heaven, unfold thy adamantine book;
And let his wondring ſenate ſee,
If not thy firm immutable decree,
At leaſt the ſecond page of ſtrong contingency;
Such as conſiſts with wills, originally free:
Let them with glad amazement look
On what their happineſs may be:

Let them not ſtill be obſtinately blind,
Still to divert the good thou haſt deſign'd,
Or with malignant penury,
To ſtarve the royal virtues of his mind.
Faith is a chriſtian's and a ſubject's teſt,
Oh give them to believe, and they are ſurely bleſt.
They do; and with a diſtant view I ſee
Th' amended vows of Engliſh loyalty.
And all beyond that object, there appears
The long retinue of a proſperous reign,
A ſeries of ſucceſsful years,
In orderly array, a martial, manly train.
Behold ev'n the remoter ſhores,
A conquering navy proudly ſpread;
The Britiſh cannon formidably roars,
While ſtarting from his oozy bed,
Th' aſſerted ocean rears his reverend head;
To view and recognize his ancient lord again:
And with a willing hand, reſtores
The faſces of the main,

VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS,

Paraphraſed.

CREATOR ſpirit, by whoſe aid
The world's foundations firſt were laid,
Come viſit ev'ry pious mind;
Come pour thy joys on human kind;
From ſin and ſorrow ſet us free,
And make thy temples worthy thee.

O ſource of uncreated light,
The father's promiſed Paraclete!
Thrice holy fount, thrice holy fire,
Our hearts with heavenly love inſpire;
Come, and thy ſacred unction bring
To ſanctify us, while we ſing.

Plenteous of grace, deſcend from high,
Rich in thy ſev'nfold energy!
Thou ſtrength of his Almighty hand,
Whoſe pow'r does heav'n and earth command.
Proceeding ſpirit, our defence,
Who do'ſt the gifts of tongues diſpenſe,
And crown'ſt thy gift with eloquence!

Refine and purge our earthly parts;
But, oh, inflame and fire our hearts!
Our frailties help, our vice controul,
Submit the ſenſes to the ſoul;

And when rebellious they are grown,
Then lay thy hand, and hold 'em down.
Chace from our minds th' infernal foe,
And peace, the fruit of love, beſtow;
And leſt our feet ſhould ſtep aſtray,
Protect and guide us in the way.
Make us eternal truths receive,
And practiſe all that we believe:
Give us thyſelf, that we may ſee
The Father, and the Son, by thee.
Immortal honour, endleſs fame,
Attend th' Almighty Father's name:
The Saviour Son be glorify'd,
Who for loſt man's redemption dy'd:
And equal adoration be,
Eternal Paraclete, to thee.

END of VOL. I.

NOTES

AND

OBSERVATIONS

ON

Mr. DRYDEN's POEMS.

NOTES.

A Poem on the Death of Lord HASTINGS. *Written in* 1649.

THERE is ſome fancy in this poem, but many of the lines are very bad, and the images too groſs both in deſign and expreſſion to have eſcaped our author in his riper years. However, he was not quite eighteen when he wrote it; and, by reprinting it, the reader may trace the progreſs of that genius which afterwards arrived at ſuch ſublimity. The nobleman herein lamented, was ſtiled Henry Lord Haſtings, ſon to Ferdinand Earl of Huntingdon. He died before his father in 1649, being then in his twentieth year. He had from nature and education, a moſt amiable diſpoſition, a ſtrong judgment, and ſo refined a taſte, that, according to Collins's Peerage, not leſs than ninety-eight elegies were compoſed on his death.

———*Archimedes' ſphere the heavens did ſhew.*

A famous geometrician, who was killed at the taking of Syracuſe, in the 542d year of Rome, by a common ſoldier, tho Marcellus, the Roman general, had given a ſtrict order to ſave him. The murderer indeed did not know him. He made a glaſs ſphere, wherein the motions of the heavenly bodies were wonderfully deſcribed, which furniſhed Claudian with occaſion for an epigram, beginning *Jupiter in parvo*, &c.

Come learned Ptolemy, &c.

Claudius Ptolemeus, a celebrated mathematician, flouriſhed under the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus, and was by the Greeks ſirnamed the Divine. His aſtronomical and geographical works were the admiration of many ages; and his ſyſtem of the world, in the centre of which was placed the earth, was generally adopted, till exploded by that of Copernicus in the ſixteenth century.

Liv'd Tycho now, &c.

Tycho-Brahe, a Daniſh gentleman of the firſt quality, famous for his ſkill in aſtronomy, chymiſtry, and medicine. He lived in the ſixteenth century, and died at Prague in 1601, aged fifty-ſeven, of a retention of urine. He formed a new ſyſtem of the world, which is ingenious, tho' in no great eſteem.

Heaven, &c.

——————*rapt its Ganymede from us.*

Jupiter having aſſumed the figure of an eagle for that purpoſe, bore Ganymede, the ſon of Tros king of Troy, to heaven upon his wings, where he made him his cup-bearer; and, according to Ovid, indulged for him an unnatural flame.

So many ſpots like næves, &c.

Næves is derived from the Latin word *nævus*, which may ſignify a natural blemiſh. Mr. Johnſon does not give it a place in his dictionary.

An univerſal metempſychoſis.

Metempſychoſis is the doctrine of the tranſmigration of the ſame ſoul thro various bodies, adopted by Pythagoras from the Bramins of India, who maintain it even at this day. Either Dryden was ignorant of the proper pronunciation of the word *metempſychoſis*, or he choſe to accent it wrongly for the ſake of a bad verſe. I would rather prefer the latter conjecture.

Thus without young, this phœnix dies, new-born.

Naturaliſts ſay that there never lives more than one phœnix, which having reached a period of either five or ſix hundred years, builds itſelf a neſt of aromatic gums, in which it is conſumed by the ſun. The moderns diſbelieve its exiſtence; but the antients in many places ſpeak of it very ſeriouſly, particularly Ovid in the fifteenth book of his Metamorphoſes, which our author has beautifully tranſlated.

HEROIC STANZAS, *conſecrated to the Memory of his Highneſs* OLIVER CROMWELL, 1658.

AS Dryden is ſaid to have been the ſon of a committee man, we have reaſon to ſuppoſe that he was educated in republican principles, and conſequently that he really revered the memory of Cromwell as much as he appears to do in theſe verſes. He was afterwards indeed a zealous loyaliſt, but whether from conſcien-

tious principles, or temporary views, is a point which we ſhall not now diſcuſs. Waller, Locke the philoſopher, and Spratt, afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter, wrote verſes on the ſame occaſion, all which may be found in the State Poems, and in Dryden's Miſcellanies; ſo that our author was not ſingular in this compliment.

Like eager Romans, &c.

It was uſual to conceal an eagle on the top of the funeral pile, deſtined to receive the dead body of the Roman imperator. When the pile was ſet on fire, the bird was ſet at liberty, and mounting into the air, was ſuppoſed by the common people to carry with it to heaven the ſoul of the deceaſed. We find a full account of this ceremony in the fourth book of Herodian.

When ſhe her beſt-lov'd Pompey did diſcard.

The meaning of this ſtanza appears at firſt a little obſcure; and we conceive it to be this: "That fortune befriended Pompey "when young, but as he advanced in years forſook him; where- "as, ſhe ſcarcely ſeemed to notice Cromwell, till he arrived at "that age in which ſhe abandoned the gallant Roman."

Like that bold Greek who did the Eaſt ſubdue.

Alexander the Great.

Thick as the galaxy with ſtars is ſown.

Manilius, in his firſt book, recites the various opinions of antiquity concerning the milky-way, and proceeds thus,

Nec mihi celanda eſt famæ vulgata, &c.

It is alſo mentioned by Ovid in the firſt book of the Metamor. l. 169, &c. as the high road to Jupiter's palace.

Eſt via ſublimis, cœlo, &c.

Bologna's walls thus mounted in the air
To ſeat themſelves more ſurely than before.

It is ſaid that at the ſiege of Bologna in 1512, a mine blew up that part of the wall of the church of Sancta Maria del Baracano, on which ſtood a miraculous image of the bleſſed Virgin. Tho it was carried ſo high, that both armies could ſee one another thro the breach, yet it fell again exactly into its place, ſo that it was impoſſible to ſee where it had been ſeparated.

Nor was he like those stars that, &c.

There are certain lambent flames, or *ignes fatui*, that dance about the masts and rigging of ships, which were formerly thought to portend good weather, if two of them appeared together; if only one, bad was to be expected. They are called by the Spaniards St. Hermo or St. Telmo. The Italians give them the names of St. Peter and St. Nicholas; and they were more particularly known to the antients under the denomination of Castor and Pollux.

As wands of divination, &c.

The divining wand was a forked piece of hazel about a foot and an half long, as thick as one's finger, which being held in equilibre on the back of the hand, and carried very gently, inclined itself towards the earth by force of sympathy, in case of a mine or treasure being in that part hidden. There are other ways of carrying it, and various uses, which we have not remarked, to which it may be applied. All these are at large set forth in a work printed at Amsterdam, 1613, intitled *La Physique Occulte, ou traité de la baguette divinatoire.*

When past all offerings, &c.

Romulus having defeated the Caeninenses, who were allies of the incensed Sabines, dedicated the spoils of his victory in a temple, which he for that purpose erected, to Feretrian Jove, *Feretrio Jovi*. The epithet is either derived from *ferre* to bear, as the plunder of a war was always borne hither in procession; or from *ferire* to sacrifice, the Romans generally sacrificing to Feretrian Jove, before they marched out against their enemies.

To supplant Holland, &c.

War was commenced against Holland in the year 1652, on account of the Dutch refusing to lower their topsails by way of salute to the British navy. It was fostered on by other circumstances, such as the act of navigation, &c. but in the course of it, the commerce of the republic of Holland was considerably injured, so that they sued for peace in very submissive terms. It was at length granted them in 1654, on their consenting to acknowledge our flag; to abandon the regal interest, to which they were supposed to be well affected; and to lay down a large sum of money, by way of indemnifying the nation for her losses.

No sooner was the Frenchman's, &c.

The treaty of alliance which Cromwell entered into with France against the Spaniards, proved of the greatest service to that crown, since by it Cromwell furnished thereto six thousand men, who behaved always very gallantly, and turned the balance in its favor.

When such heroic virtue, &c.

Dryden here elegantly attributes Cromwell's successes, and the glory reaped under him by the British arms, to the many great virtues wherewith heaven had endowed him. Virtues," says he, "sufficiently strong to influence in his favour even opposing stars, "which obeyed with reluctance, like the common people when "taxed."

He made us freemen, &c.

We may be said to have been made freemen of the Continent by the taking of Dunkirk, which was wrested from the Spaniards by the united forces of France and England, and delivered up to the latter in the beginning of 1658.

Alike an Alexander, &c.

At this time Alexander VII. sat in the papal chair.

By his command we boldly, &c.

Our author seems not to have duly weighed the occasion of this compliment, since our arms certainly did not cross the line during the protectorship. What is here then referred to, must be the designs which Oliver entertained, of conquering the best part of the Spanish West-Indies. To which end he fitted out a powerful fleet under the direction of Penn, on board of which he embarked the largest body of land-forces ever seen in America. They miscarried in the main part of their design, yet they made themselves masters of Jamaica, a most valuable acquisition, which has ever since remained annexed to the British crown.

——— *he, prest'd down by his own weighty name,*
Did, like the vestal under spoils decease.

The Sabines being at war with the Romans, found means to surprize the citadel by corrupting Tarpeia the commandant's daughter, to open to them a postern-gate; and when they were entered, they threw their bucklers upon and smothered her. It is said they had consented, at her own request, to give her what they had upon their arms, their left arms being also adorned

with magnificent bracelets; and thus they pretended to perform their promiſe.

But firſt the ocean as a tribute ſent,
The giant prince of all her watry herd.

Cromwell died on Friday September 3d, 1658, a day remarkable for being the anniverſaries of his victories at Worceſter and Dunbar, as alſo for one of the moſt dreadful tempeſts that had ever happened in the memory of man. On the preceding Monday, being the 30th of Auguſt, there raged a more violent ſtorm than had been known in this kingdom for twenty years before. When Wood tells us, it was certainly believed by the vulgar, that the Devil, with whom Oliver had made a compact, having ſummoned him to another world, he craved a reprieve of the fiend till Friday, and gave *bond* for his appearance. This is but a ſorry pun, the *bond* here meant being *Dennis Bond*, a great partizan of the Protector's, who died that day.

As winds for halcyons, &c.

The halcyon is ſaid to pitch its neſt upon the ſurface of the ſea, and there to hatch its young, when a continued calm prevails. Plutarch, who aſſerts this ſtory, as fact, tells us, that he has ſeen ſeveral of this bird's neſts, formed like boats, and curiouſly conſtructed of fiſh-bones. Many naturaliſts confirm the veracity of this account, and the curious Sir Thomas Brown admits it as a truth.

ASTREA REDUX. *A Poem on the happy Reſtoration and Return of his ſacred Majeſty* CHARLES II. 1660.

ASTREA REDUX, or the Return of Juſtice, may be very properly applied to the æra of the king's reſtoration, ſince now the nation was freed from the factions that had ſo long diſtracted, and threatened her with anarchy and deſtruction; while law, order, and ſubordination began to flow once again quietly in their antient and proper channels.

An horrid ſtillneſs firſt invades the ear,
And in that ſilence we the tempeſt fear.

This diſtich was laid hold of by the wits of the times, and among others by Capt. Alexander Radcliff in his news from Hell, who ridicules it thus:

" *Laureta*, who was both learn'd and florid,
" Was damn'd long ſince for *ſilence horrid:*

" Nor had there been ſuch clutter made,
" But that this *ſilence did invade:*
" *Invade!* and ſo't might well,—that's clear:
" But what did it *invade?*——*an ear.*"

The ambitious Swede, &c.

Charles X. named alſo Guſtavus, and nephew to the great Guſtavus Adolphus, a man of an excellent education, trained to arms, in which he delighted, and well beloved by the people, ſucceeded to the crown of Sweden at the age of twenty-eight years, the famous Queen Chriſtina having abdicated in his favor. This happened in 1654, and the Poliſh ambaſſador at Stockholm proteſting againſt his ſucceſſion, was told by the queen, " That her couſin could prove his right to the Swediſh crown by " thirty thouſand witneſſes." A war ſucceeded between Poland and Sweden, in which Charles was for the moſt part ſucceſsful, having in the courſe of it alſo, the different powers of Auſtria, France, the republics of England and Holland, to contend with. He died of a fever at Gottenburgh in 1660, having reigned ten years, and leaving behind him the character of a very able commander. The peace of Sweden was reſtored a few months after his death by the treaties of Copenhagen and Oliva.

We ſigh'd to hear the fair Iberian bride,
Muſt grow a lilly to the lilly's ſide, &c.

In the year 1659, Cromwell being dead, a peace was concluded between Spain and France, in which the marriage with the Infanta of Spain, was agreed upon; and tho Charles II. was there in perſon, little or no regard was paid to his intereſt. The poet in this, and part of the following page laments, that almoſt every State but that of England ſhould be reſtored to eaſe. Sweden, ſays he, obtained a peace by the death of her ambitious monarch. The feuds between France and Spain were miraculouſly terminated, and their friendſhip cemented by a marriage. But for our parts heaven till ſtill continued to deny us the reſtoration of our king, for which all ranks of people groaned; and we ſeemed as it were abandoned by providence.

The ſacred purple then and ſcarlet gown,
Like ſanguine die to elephants was ſhown.

Such a general anarchy prevailed at this time, that no authority could avail againſt the headſtrong commonality. The ſacred purple and ſcarlet gown, ſays the poet, oppoſed againſt their

progreſs, had no more effect than if they had been ſhewn to an elephant.

Thus when the bold Typhœus, &c.

See the giant's war, in the firſt book of Ovid's Metamorphoſis.

Blind as the Cyclop, &c.

Polyphemus, of whom may be found a beautiful deſcription in the third book of the Æneid.

As ſouls reach heaven, while, &c.

This line alludes to the extaſies affected by ſome viſionaries.

But thoſe that 'gainſt ſtiff gales laveering go.

To *laveer*, is a naval term derived from the Daniſh, and ſignifies to change the direction often in a courſe.

Bailey, *Johnſon*'s Dict.

And all at Worc'ſter, &c.

At the battle of Worceſter, which was fought near the city of that name on the 3d of September, 1651, the king's army was totally routed. He made his eſcape meanly diſguiſed, and was ſeveral times near falling into the hands of the rebels.

Thus baniſh'd David, &c.

For explanation of theſe lines, ſee the firſt of Samuel from the 16th to the 26th chapter.

Well might the antient poets then confer,
On night the honor'd name of counſellor.

Night is by ſeveral antient authors called *counſellor*, on account of its ſtillneſs and ſolemnity.

The name of great his famous grandſire gain'd.

Charles II. was grandſon by the mother's ſide to Henry IV. of France.

With Alga who the ſacred, &c.
Ending with ——— *ſhore.*

Theſe lines refer to the ceremonies uſed by ſuch heathens as eſcaped from ſhipwreck, to which the king's variety of fortune is not inelegantly compared. Alga Marina, or ſea-weed, was generally ſtrewed about the altar, and a lamb ſacrificed to the winds.

Portunus was a sea god, to whom a temple was erected at the mouth of the Tyber. He is sometimes called Portumnus, sometimes Palæmon. Portunalia, or Portumnalia, otherwise Orum, was a festival instituted in honor of him. He is mentioned in the fifth book of the Æneid, v. 271.

Booth's forward valour, &c.

In 1659, Sir George Booth assembled a considerable body of men for the king's service in Cheshire, and possessed himself of Chester, Chick-castle, and several other places, being joined by the Earl of Derby, Lord Kilmurray, Sir Thomas Middleton, Major-general Egerton, with other loyal gentlemen, who encountering with Lambert, general of the parliament's forces were entirely routed at Winnington-bridge, near Northwich in Cheshire, and most of the principal people made prisoners.

'Twas Monk, &c.

General George Monk had the command of the parliament's army in Scotland at the death of Cromwell, whose son Richard he caused to be proclaimed Protector, in compliance with their order. He shortly after marched with his forces towards London, where he managed matters so well as to bring about the restoration of the king, without the least bloodshed; for which good service he honored him with the order of the garter, created him Duke of Albemarle, &c. &c. on account of his being descended on the mother's side from Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Albemarle and Warwick.

In 1666 he was united with the Duke of York, in command of the fleet that was sent against the Dutch. A dropsy carried him out of the world on the 3d day of January, 1679, aged seventy-one years. His air was majestic, his countenance grave; he was equal in his proceedings; solid, and intrepid in his conduct. He kept the army under strict discipline, and set a noble example of virtue to his soldiers, being an enemy to drunkenness, blasphemy, and incontinence.

It shuns the mint like gold, &c.

That great philosopher and chymist, the Hon. Robert Boyle made an artificial metal, which had all the properties of gold but its malleability. The gold of chymists may very properly be said to shun the mint, since all their endeavors to *make* it have been ineffectual.

Wiſe leaches will not, &c.

Leach is uſed by Spenſer to ſignify a phyſician, and the word was commonly taken in the ſame ſenſe even when Dryden wrote this poem.

Nor could his acts too cloſe a vizard, &c.

Monk concealed his intentions of forwarding the king's reſtoration ſo well, that till he had fixed it in a proper channel, ſcarcely any body knew his deſign. Nay, "his conduct was ſo myſterious "that one would be apt to think he had not yet determined in "what manner he ſhould act. The partizans of the king took "it for granted, that he ſecretly favored the royal cauſe; and "upon that ſuppoſition ſent his own brother, who was a clergy-"man and a loyaliſt, with propoſals in favor of his ſovereign; "but he declined treating on the ſubject, and behaved towards "his brother with impenetrable reſerve and ſeeming indif-"ference."

Whence legion twice before was diſpoſſeſs'd.

The long parliament fearing the ambition of Cromwell, attempted taking away his ſupport by diſſolving the army, refuſing at the ſame time to diſperſe and call a new parliament as they had promiſed. This diſpoſition induced the Protector to haſten to the houſe on the tenth of April, 1653, attended by three hundred ſoldiers, whom he poſted at the door and in the lobby. Then entering with violent marks of indignation in his countenance, he told his friend St. John he was come to do that, which, to his great grief of ſoul, the lord had impoſed upon him. After having ſat ſome time to hear the debates, the ſpeaker being about to put the queſtion, he ſuddenly roſe up, and in the moſt opprobrious terms reviled them for their ambition, tyranny, extortion, and robbery of the public; and indeed the complaints of the public juſtified theſe accuſations. After this torrent of general obloquy, he ſtamped upon the floor, and the ſoldiers entered the houſe, then addreſſing himſelf to the members, "Get "you gone," ſaid he, "give place to honeſt men; you are no "longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parlia-"ment, the Lord has done with you." Sir Harry Vane riſing up to remonſtrate againſt this outrage, Cromwell exclaimed, "Oh! Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me "from Sir Harry Vane!" He took hold of Martin by the cloak, ſaying, "Thou art a whoremonger." Another he reproached as an adulterer; a third as a drunkard; and a fourth as an extor-

tioner. "It is you," added he, "that have forced me upon "this: I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he would ra- "ther ſlay me than put me upon this work." Pointing to the mace, he bade a ſoldier take away that bauble: he turned out all the members, ordered the door to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, retired to his lodgings in Whitehall. Thus by one daring exploit, which he atchieved without bloodſhed or clamour, the new republic was aboliſhed, and the whole power of three kingdoms, civil and military, united in his perſon.

The houſe was thus once diſpoſſeſſed of legion, and about ſeven months before his death he diſſolved his third parliament, with as much heat and indignation as he did the long one, on account of diviſions ſubſiſting between the upper and lower houſes, which boded him no good. He knew that many of the members had entered ſecretly into meaſures for the king's reſtoration, and breeding diſturbances in the nation: "And ſince ſuch," ſaid he, "are your proceedings, I think it is high time to put "an end to your ſitting: I therefore declare this parliament "diſſolved, and God be the judge between you and me." Several of the members anſwered, "Amen."

It was alſo thro Cromwell's art that his ſecond parliament was diſſolved, it bore the name of *Praiſe-God Barebones*, a praying leather-ſeller, who was one of the members.

While to exceſs on martyr's tomb, &c.

This paſſage ſeems to allude to the extravagancies that are often committed by the vulgar Roman Catholics upon their pilgrimaging to the tombs of Saints, where, after having performed the ſtated devotions, they too often launch into the moſt blameable exceſſes, as if they imagined they had now fully expiated their former offences, and were at liberty to begin a new reckoning.

And as devouter Turks, &c.

The Khoran having prohibited the uſe of wine, when a Turk has a mind to indulge himſelf with the juice of the grape, he warns his ſoul to retire to ſome ſafe corner of his body, where it may be ſecured from the contamination, and conſequently not liable to the puniſhment.

Which durſt with horſe's hoof, &c.

Salmoneus aſpiring at the power of a divinity, erected a bridge of braſs, over which the rattling of his chariot and horſes cauſed

a ſound not unlike thunder. Jupiter ſtruck him dead with lightning for his inſolence. *Æn.* 6th.

Thus Sforza curs'd with a too fertile brain,
Loſt by his wiles the pow'r his wit did gain.

Lewis Sforza, a ſubtle politician, and one of the moſt intriguing men in the world, was left guardian to his nephew John Galeas Sforza, heir of Milan, for whom he contracted a marriage with Iſabella of Arragon, but falling in love with the bride the moment he ſaw her, endeavoured to procure her for himſelf. It is ſaid, that he contrived a magical girdle for his nephew, to prevent him from conſummating. His endeavors were ineffectual. John had two children, by his wife, a ſon and a daughter, but died by the treachery of his uncle, who having adminiſtered him a ſlow poiſon; cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Duke of Milan, and perſecuted the widow and her children with the ſevereſt ſpirit of vengeance. In 1499 he was driven from his dukedom, which he had enjoyed only ſeven years, by Lewis the XIIth of France, into whoſe hands being betrayed he was carried priſoner to France, where he died in confinement, A. D. 1508.

See Guiccardini, &c. &c.

Henceforth their fougue muſt ſpend at leſſer rate.

Fougue is a word ſometimes uſed by thoſe who venture upon galliciſms, for the mettle and fire of a horſe.

——*They are like Helots*, &c.

The Spartans to deter their youth from intemperance, expoſed their ſlaves whom they called Helots, intoxicated with liquor, as public objects of deriſion. They were called Helots from Helos, a Laconian town, which being taken by the Spartans, they made all the inhabitants priſoners of war, and reduced them to the condition of ſlaves.

Oh had you ſeen from Schevelin's, &c.

Schevelin is a village about a mile from the Hague, at which Charles II. embarked for England at his reſtoration.

The Naſeby now no longer, &c.

The battle of Naſeby, which was fought on the 14th of June, 1645, was the ruin of King Charles I. The ſhip in which Charles II. returned from exile bore the ſame name.

The Swiftsure groans beneath great Gloster's weight.

Henry of Oatlands, Duke of Gloceſter, and third ſon of King Charles the Martyr, landed at Dover with his brother in 1660, and died of the ſmall-pox on the 13th of September following. "He was a prince of an amiable character, and tenderly beloved by the king, who ſeemed more afflicted by his death, "than by any other incident of his whole life."

Thus when th' Almighty would to Moſes give, &c.

Deuteronomy, chap. xxxii. ver. 51, 52, 53.

And as old time his offspring, &c.

Days, months, and years, may juſtly be called the children of Time, which he daily produces, and as conſtantly devours.

And France that did an exile's, &c.

We have already mentioned the king's having been obliged to quit France, on account of the treaties entered into between Cromwell and that crown.

To his Sacred Majeſty. A Panegyric on his Coronation.

CHARLES II. was in the thirtieth year of his age, when he took poſſeſſion of the throne. He had taken pains in cultivating his underſtanding; he underſtood mechanics and ſhipbuilding, was well acquainted with the hiſtory and politics of the moſt remarkable ſtates in Europe; he poſſeſſed a natural fund of humor and vivacity, together with the moſt inſinuating addreſs, and the power of pleaſing in converſation: he was a latitudinarian in religion, careleſs, indolent, and extremely addicted to pleaſure. The people, partly in imitation of the king's jovial diſpoſition, and partly from the nature of the human mind, ſo apt to be hurried from one extreme to another, gave a looſe to intemperance, and the whole kingdom was filled with riot and exceſs.

As heaven of old, &c.

Exodus, chap. xvi. ver. 14.

Your pleaſures are deſign'd to noble ends.

The king often diverted himſelf on the water, was very fond of naval affairs, of overlooking the conſtruction of his own veſſels, and made excellent models of ſhips.

To take the fraicheur of the, &c.

Fraicheur, a French word, ſignifying coolneſs.

With Cæſar's heart that roſe, &c.

Cæſar, when in ſome danger on board ſhip, obſerving the mariners affrighted, bade them remember *they carried Cæſar and his fortune.*

Two kingdoms wait your doom, &c.

Both the crowns of Spain and Portugal courted the alliance of Charles II. by offering him their reſpective daughters; and for this reaſon Dryden tells us, that *both the Indies are rivals in his bed*; Spain being poſſeſſed of large dominions in the Weſt, and Portugal having made ſome wealthy acquiſitions in the Eaſt. Charles gave the preference to the Infanta of Portugal, and thus, ſays our author, ſecured to her family a crown which they muſt have otherwiſe loſt: for had he married into Spain, he would have ſo ſtrengthened the Spaniſh monarchy, as to have endangered the independency of Portugal; and thus Spain is conſidered as loſing a crown, and Portugal as receiving one from the hands of our king. I cannot help obſerving here, that Dryden is as obſcure in the latter part of this poem, as the oracles of which he makes mention. As to the ſouls of unborn kings, which he introduces, attending about the queen's chaſte womb, none of them thought fit to enter it, for ſhe died without iſſue.

To the Lord Chancellor HYDE, *preſented on New-Year's-Day*, 1662.

EDWARD Earl of Clarendon, to whom this poem is addreſſed, having followed the fortune of the king, was appointed ſecretary of ſtate at Bruges, and conſtituted lord high-chancellor of England on the demiſe of Sir Richard Lane. He was confirmed in this laſt poſt at the reſtoration, when he was alſo choſen chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, in the room of the Duke of Somerſet, and created Baron Hindon, Viſcount Cornbury, and Earl of Clarendon.

He was too honeſt for a court; his plain dealing and integrity ruined him; the king, abandoned to pleaſure, was impatient of admonition, and Hyde was not ſparing of it: this paved the way for his diſgrace. He was proſecuted with great acrimony by the Earl of Briſtol, who impeached him in the houſe of Peers: finding his party too weak to ſupport him, he retired to Rouen,

where he died in 1674. He is said to have been concerned in selling Dunkirk to the French. He was an able lawyer, a great statesman, and an elegant writer.

The helpless gods their burning shrines forsook.

" Excessere omnes adytis arisq; relictis
" Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat." ÆNEID. 2d.

And like young David, &c.

Samuel, book I. chap. xvii. ver. 38 and 39.

——— *as the Indies were not found, before*
Those rich perfumes, which from the happy shore,
The winds upon their balmy wings convey'd.

The air of the eastern world is always impregnated with the finer particles, and native spirits of those vegetables that grow upon the surface of the earth. Thus while we sail along the coasts of those countries that abound with aromatic plants and trees, we are regaled with their odoriferous exhalations, even at a great distance from the shore.

Our setting sun from his declining seat,
Shot beams of kindness on you, not of heat.

This passage relates to the terms of intimacy that subsisted between Charles I. and Lord Clarendon.

A Satire upon the Dutch. Written in the Year 1662.

SINCE this poem was printed off, we were not at a little surprized to find it no more than a prologue a little altered, prefixed to our author's tragedy of Amboyna, and placed with the title it now bears, among his poems: however, former editors of Mr. Dryden's works, particularly they who published the collection of them in two 12mo volumes, 1743, led us into this error, as did the authors of the Biographia Britannica in their life of our author.

Venetians do not more uncouthly ride.

Horses are almost useless in Venice from its situation, there being canals in every street, so that it cannot be thought the Venetians are expert jockeys: besides, " To ride as badly as a grandee of Venice," is become a proverb all over Italy.

As Cato did of Afric fruits diſplay
Let us before our eyes their Indies lay;
All loyal Engliſh will like him conclude
Let Cæſar live, and Carthage be ſubdued.

The occaſion of the third punic war, which ended in the abſolute deſtruction of Carthage, was the republic's having quarrelled with and been defeated by Maſſiniſſa, king of Numidia, who being allied to Rome, they had reaſon to fear her reſentment, to deprecate which they ſent thither two ſolemn embaſſies, and baniſhed Asdrubal and Cathalon, the two generals, who had commanded their defeated forces. Such a ſituation of affairs occaſioned the holding of ſeveral councils, in all which Cato ſtrongly urged a war, ſtimulated thereto by the pride, luxury, riches, and growing power of Carthage.

One day as he harrangued to this effect, he is ſaid to have taken ſome fine figs from his breaſt, and flung them on the table, the ſize and beauty of which having attracted the eyes of the ſenators, "They are of Carthage," cried he, "only three days "old; we require no longer time to face this aſpiring enemy." And ever after when this point chanced to be in debate, he concluded his ſpeeches with the very laſt words of this poem, *Let Carthage be ſubdued*, "delenda eſt Carthago." This ſentence was alſo uſed by the Earl of Shafteſbury in 1673, when in parliament he enforced the continuance of the war againſt Holland.

To her Royal Highneſs the Dutcheſs, on the memorable Victory gained by the Duke over the Hollanders, June 3, 1665; *and on her Journey afterwards into the North.*

THE lady, to whom our author addreſſes this poem, was daughter to the great Earl of Clarendon. The Duke of York had been ſome time married to her, before the affair was known either to the king his brother, or to her father. She died in March, 1671, leaving iſſue one ſon, named Edgar, and three daughters, Katherine, Mary and Ann. The two latter lived to ſit on the Britiſh throne; the two former ſurvived their mother but a ſhort time. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that ſhe was a woman of knowledge and penetration, friendly and generous; but ſevere in her reſentments.

The battle here celebrated began on the 3d of June early in the morning; the Duke of York himſelf engaging Admiral Opdam,

the Dutch commander in chief, yard and yard-arm, until the latter was, with his ſhip and crew, blown up. A complete victory enſued, which, had it been properly followed, might at one blow have finiſhed the war. Eighteen Dutch ſhips were taken in this action, and fourteen ſunk, beſides ſeveral others which were either burnt or blown up. We made two thouſand three hundred priſoners, among whom were thirteen commanders, and killed ſix thouſand of the enemy, with the loſs only of a forty gun-ſhip and two hundred and fifty men; our wounded were three hundred and forty. Two medals were ſtruck in honor of his royal highneſs's ſucceſs, impreſſed on one ſide with his buſt, properly accoutered and inſcribed; the reverſe repreſenting a naval engagement.

ANNUS MIRABILIS: *The Year of Wonders*, 1666.

The Dedication to the City of London.

THIS dedication has been left out in all editions of the poem, but the firſt. To me there appears in it an honeſt unfeigned warmth and a love for the king, which compenſates for any thing that may have dropped from our author's pen in his verſes on Cromwell's death; however, we ſubmit this opinion under correction to the judicious reader.

> *I have choſen to write my poem in quatrains, or ſtanzas of four lines in alternate rhymes, as being more noble than any other verſe in uſe amongſt us.*

Dryden certainly ſoon changed his opinion, ſince he never after practiſed the manner of verſification he has here praiſed: but we ſhall find it always his way to aſſure us, that his preſent mode of writing is beſt. Conſcious of his own importance, he ſoared above controul; and when he compoſed a poem, he ſet it up as a ſtandard of imitation, deducing from it rules of criticiſm, the practice of which he endeavoured to inforce, till either thro intereſt or fancy he was induced to change his opinion.

Female rhymes, &c.

By *female rhymes* our author means ſuch words as end with *e* mute, as *dove*, *belle*, *noble*; which *e* was often ſounded by ſome old writers to fill up the meaſure of the line, otherwiſe the verſe had halted.

Alaric, the Pucelle, &c.

Theſe are two celebrated French poems ; the latter was written by Chaplaine, and treats of the exploits of the famous Joan of Orleans. The ſubject of the former is the Conqueſt of Rome, by Alaric the Goth. It is the performance of Monſ. de Scudery.

The prince and the general, &c.

Prince Rupert, and General Monk Duke of Albemarle, who commanded in the expeditions celebrated in the following poem.

The compoſition of all poems ought to be of wit, &c.

Dryden uſes the word wit here in a much more extenſive ſenſe than is given to it at preſent ; and his definition of it, viz. " That " it is the happy reſult of thought, or product of imagination," ſeems vague and indeterminate, being applicable to every operation of the mind exerciſed upon every object of art or ſcience. But the truth is, that wit, at the time of our author's writing, was uſed in its antient and original acceptation, whereby it embraced all the ideas that concur to the forming perfection of writing. Such as good ſenſe, judgment, conception, ſublimity, and even genius ; if the laſt is not however rather the parent of wit, than wit itſelf, and they are all but different modes of wit, as it was formerly uſed. Of later years, a cuſtom firſt adopted by irony, has reduced the word to a much more narrow and confined ſignification ; for example, to ſay that Homer and Virgil were witty poets, Demoſthenes a witty orator, Shakeſpear a witty dramatic author, would lay one open to the charge of derogating from their merit ; yet undoubtedly that term, taken in its pure and abſolute ſenſe, may ſtill be applied to them very properly ; and more ſo, as our language furniſhes no equivalent ; for ſublimity, judgment, genius, nature, &c. &c. are rather the conſtituents of the thing than the thing itſelf.

By wit, in its preſent general acceptance, is underſtood a lively imagination that breaks out in a quick turn of thought, excluding the ideas of labor and ſtudy ; that is not over-nice in adhering to the rules even of common ſenſe, for common ſenſe will always ſtand the teſt of examination, which wit cannot at all times ; becauſe its productions ſeem calculated rather to dazzle than enlighten, are more brilliant than ſolid. Its irregular flaſhes mock or elude the inquiſition of judgment, which never can forgive it that want of propriety, ſo frequently its concomitant, and perhaps its greateſt eſſential. A ſpecies of writing or talking thus defectively, having long, in common currency, uſurped the place,

are at length in full poſſeſſion of the name, to the excluſion of that only true wit, of which Dryden here ſpeaks. He gives us another definition of wit in the firſt line of his preface to Albion and Albanius.

A poor paranomaſia, &c.

A figure in rhetoric, in which by the change of a letter ſeveral things are alluded to.

A paper of verſes, &c.

They immediately precede this epiſtle, and were before printed here, but it was thought better to remove them to a more proper ſtation.

I wrong the public to detain you longer, &c.

Imitation of

——— in publica commoda peccem
Si longo ſermone morer tua tempora.

Hor. Lib. ii. Epiſt. 1.

ANNUS MIRABILIS: *or, the Year of Wonders*, 1666.

The Poem.

In eaſtern quarries, &c.

It is a notion with ſome people, that precious ſtones are drops of dew, condenſed and hardened by the warmth of the ſun, or by ſubterranean fires.

For them the Idumean balm, &c.

Idumea is a country in Paleſtine, famous for palm trees: it lies between Egypt and Arabia Petrea, being divided from Judea by Mount Seir.

And in hot Ceilon, &c.

Ceilon is an iſland in the Eaſt Indies, two hundred and fifty miles long and two hundred broad.

The ſun but ſeem'd, &c.

It is the opinion of many, that the great heap of waters under the line is depreſſed into tides by the moon towards the poles.

See how he feeds th' Iberian with delays,
To render us his timely friendſhip vain,
And while his ſecret ſoul on Flanders preys,
He rocks the cradle of the babe of Spain.

Iberia is a name given to Spain; and the Iberian here mentioned is the King of Spain. France had, for a long time, looked with an eye of deſire upon the Spaniſh Netherlands, and only waited the death of the King of Spain, who was very infirm, to ſeize upon them. Count d'Eſtrades, who was one of the ableſt miniſters of his time, tells us, in his memoirs, that part of them were to be divided between France and Holland, and the reſt erected into a republic united to the ſtates general, as the Griſons are to the Swiſs. It was to no purpoſe that King Charles ſtrove to open the eyes of the Spaniard; he was quite blind to the policy of France.

So hears the ſcaly herd when Proteus blows.

Proteus, the ſon of Neptune, ſometimes called Ceruleus.

That bright companion of the ſun,
Whoſe glorious aſpect ſeal'd our new-born year.

A new ſtar appeared in the open day about the time of King Charles the ſecond's birth; a fact which Lilly the famous aſtronomer denied, affirming it to be only the planet Venus, which may be often ſeen by day-light, as has been experienced by all curious people again in 1757.

——— *two glaring tapers riſe.*

A comet was ſeen firſt on the fourteenth of December, 1664, which laſted almoſt three months; and another the ſixth of April, 1665, which was viſible to us fourteen days.

Appendix to Sherburn's tranſl. of Manilius, p. 211.

Victorious York, &c.

See our account of this battle in our note on the verſes to the Dutcheſs of York.

And therefore doomed, &c.

Sir John Lawſon was born at Hull of but mean parentage, and bred to the ſea; he was for ſome time employed in the mer-

chant's ſervice, which he left for that of the parliament, in which he ſoon got a ſhip, and afterwards carried a flag under Monk: with him he co-operated in the reſtoration of the king; for which good reaſon he received the honor of knighthood at the Hague. He zealouſly ſupported our claim to the ſovereignty of the ſea, and quarrelled with de Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, for being backward in acknowleging it; an accident that partly occaſioned the Dutch war. In the action here celebrated he was rear-admiral of the red, and acted immediately under his royal highneſs. His death was occaſioned by a muſket-ball, that wounded him in the knee, and he was not taken proper care of. We find him characteriſed honeſt, brave, loyal, and one of the moſt experienced ſeamen of his time.

Nor wholly loſt we, &c.

The Dutch ſhips on their return home being ſeparated by a ſtorm, the rear and vice-admirals of the Eaſt-India fleet, with four men of war, were taken by five Engliſh frigates. Soon after four men of war, two fireſhips, and thirty other merchantmen, being driven out of their courſe, joined our fleet inſtead of their own, and were all taken. Theſe things happened in 1665.

Such are the proud deſigns of human kind,
And ſo we ſuffer ſhip-wreck every where!

Si bene calculum ponas, ubiq; fit naufragium. *Pet. Arb.*

Let Munſter's prelate, &c.

The famous Bernard Vanghalen, biſhop of Munſter, excited by Charles, marched twenty thouſand men into the province of Overyſſel, under the dominion of the republic of Holland, where he committed great outrages, acting rather like a captain of banditti than the leader of an army. However, we muſt allow he had ſome excuſe for this conduct, when it is remembered that Charles neglected to make him the promiſed remittances. On which account alſo he was forced to clap up a peace, without giving us notice of his intention; and to this he was alſo ſtill more obliged by a confederacy againſt him of the princes of the empire, headed by the elector of Brandenburgh, influenced by

France, for which he was by no means a match. By this treaty we were left ſingly to contend with France, Denmark, and Holland, all which powers were then our foes. It was ſigned at Cleves, before Sir William Temple could reach Bruſſels. For on the firſt notice of ſuch an affair being on the carpet, that able ſtateſman was ſent abroad, to make good the payments due to the biſhop, and prevent his abandoning our intereſt.

In whom we ſeek the German faith in vain.

Nullos mortalium ſide aut armis ante Germanos eſſe, is a character given of them by Tacitus. "In valor and fidelity no nation can "outdo the Germans."

Lewis had chac'd the Engliſh from his ſhore;
But Charles the French as ſubjects does invite.

The French king's charge to the Engliſh to withdraw from his territories was poſitive and general: whereas, in the king of England's declaration of war againſt France, we find the following clauſe:

"That all ſuch of the French and Dutch nations remaining "in the king's dominions, as ſhould demean themſelves dutifully, "without correſponding with the enemy, ſhould be ſafe in their "perſons and eſtates, and free from all moleſtation or trouble. "And further, his majeſty declared, that if any of the French "or Low-Country ſubjects, upon any reaſon ſhould come into his "kingdom, they ſhould be protected in their perſons and eſtate; "and eſpecially thoſe of the reformed religion, whoſe intereſt "he would always particularly adopt."

So glad Egyptians ſee, &c.

This ſimile is introduced with great propriety; for as the land of Egypt owes its fertility to the Nile's overflowing, ſo does the king owe to his people the ſupplies enabling him to ſupport his dignity, carry on war, &c. Lewis XIV. imagined, that at this time a ſpirit of diſſenſion reigned among the Engliſh, which would prevent them from granting to his majeſty the neceſſary ſubſidies. And the French ambaſſador had been heard to expreſs himſelf at Oxford, in words to that effect, which Lord Hollis took notice of, in his memorial to the French king, teſtifying his ſovereign's deſire of being upon good terms with that monarch. "Neither of "the houſes," ſays he, "will ſuffer any thing to be wanting, that

" may contribute to the nation's glory or the intereſt of my " maſter: nay, rather than not ſupport theſe two material points, " they will give him three-fourths of what they are worth; and " if the reſidue be barely ſufficient to ſubſiſt them, they will " be ſatisfied."

The parliament voted ſoon after one million eight hundred thouſand pounds to the king for carrying on the war.

With equal power he does two chiefs create,
Two ſuch, &c.

Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle. For an account and character of the latter, ſee our notes upon *Aſtrea Redux*; the former was ſon of Frederic, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, by Elizabeth, daughter of our King James. He entered the ſervice of his uncle Charles I. in 1642, to whom he was extremely uſeful, giving many noble proofs of conduct and bravery. The ſame year that the king was beheaded he retired to France, where he was received according to his great deſerts. Charles II. being reſtored, made him an admiral, and he did vaſt injury to the Dutch traffic. This great man died in 1682, being ſixty-three years old, leaving behind him the character of a brave officer, of an experienced chymiſt, and excellent philoſopher. To him we owe the invention of ſcraping in metzotinto. He was a tall ſhambling figure of a man, hard-featured, and four-looking: no man could be more civil, nor more rude: he was ſeldom known to be civil at a proper time; and was often civil when his rudeneſs would have been excuſable: yet he was honeſt and well-meaning: he fell in love, when far advanced in years, with one Mrs. Hewes, an actreſs, an incident that afforded much diverſion to the merry court; and by her he left one daughter called Princeſs Rupertina, who married with General How.

And future people bleſs, &c.

Examina infantium, futuruſq; populus.

Plin. Jun. in paneg. ad Traj.

But lands unfix'd and floating nations ſtrove.

Credas innare revulſas Cyclades.

And as ſhe built——

Built, is a naval term, ſignifying the make of a ſhip.

And now as where Patroclus' body lay
Here Trojan chiefs, advanc'd, and there the Greeks.

The contention between the Greeks and Trojans for the dead body of Patroclus, is to be found in the seventeenth book of Homer.

Berkley alone, &c.

Among other remarkable passages in this engagement, the undaunted resolution of vice-admiral Berkley was particularly admired. He had many men killed on board him, and tho no longer able to make resistance, yet would obstinately continue the fight, refusing quarter to the last. Being at length shot in the throat with a musket-ball, he retired to his cabbin, where, stretching himself on a great table, he expired; and in that posture did the enemy, who afterwards took the ship, find the body covered with blood.

Did a like fate with lost Creusa share.

Æneas, while Troy was in a flame, bore off his father Anchises on his back, and his son Iulus in his hand: his wife Creusa following, was divided from him in the confusion as he was near the city gate, nor did ever after see her, as he tells Queen Dido in the second book of the Eneid, ver. 736, &c.

His face spake hope while deep his sorrows flow.

Spem vultu simulat, premit alto corde dolorem. *Virg.*

Such vapors once did fiery Cacus hide.

Cacus, the son of Vulcan, is fabled to have reigned king of a province in Spain, where his tyranny rousing the resentment of Hercules, he was by the latter attacked and totally defeated, escaping only with fifty followers to a cave in the side of a steep mountain, which could be approached but by a narrow passage, admitting only one man abreast. Here being closely pent up, and in want of provisions, Cacus, by his art, taught his people to vomit fire and smoak, under cover of which they retreated thro the midst of their enemies, who imagined that these phenomena were the effects of a tempest.

Have you not seen when, whistled, &c.

When a falcon loses sight of its quarry, or the game at which it is set, and flies at something else, it is said to fly at check.

With her loud kaws her craven-kind does bring.

Craven signifies coward or dastard.

Like falling Cæsar, decently to die.

Cæsar, after having for some time nobly opposed the conspirators, when he perceived his well-beloved Brutus strike, wrapped himself up in his robe, and sinking down at the foot of Pompey's pillar, expired.

Thus Israel safe from the Egyptians, &c.

Exodus, ch. xiii. ver. 21, 22, and Numbers, ch. ix. ver. 15, 16, 17.

So Xenophon once led, &c.

Xenophon was an Athenian general; of his famous retreat under Cyrus the younger, he has left us an admirably well-written history, being as renowned in the characters of an historian and a philosopher, as that of a soldier. We have an elegant translation of it by Mr. Spelman.

And slowly moves unknowing, &c.

Vestigio retro improperata refert. *Virg.*

And weary waves withdrawing, &c.

Nec trucibus fluviis idem sonus: occidit horror
Equoris, antennis maria acclinata quiescunt. *Stat. Sylv.*

Yet like an English general will I die,
And all the ocean make my spacious grave;
Women and cowards on the land may lie,
The sea's a tomb that's proper for the brave.

This speech contains nearly the same words that the Duke of Albemarle spoke in a council the evening before the battle, in which he fought with amazing intrepidity, and all that determined resignation here implied.

The chearful soldiers ———
—— *In revenge for those three days they try'd,*
Wish one, like Joshua's, when the sun stood still.

Joshua, chap. x. ver. 13.

So glides some trodden serpent, &c.

Cum medii nexus extremaq; agmina caudæ
Solvuntur, tardosq; trahit sinus ultimus orbes.
Virg. Georg. lib. 3.

And like a wounded snake drags its slow length along.
Pope.

Where 'twas a triumph not to be o'ercome.

——————— Quos opimus
Fallere et effugere triumphus est. *Hor.* lib. 4. od. 4.

Some the gall'd ropes with dawby marline bind.

Dawby is a bad word; *glewy* or *viscous* would have done better. Long wreaths of untwisted ropes dipped in pitch, and bound fast round the cable, by way of guard, are called *marline*. A *tarpawling* is a piece of canvass smeared with tar.

Stanza 155, &c.

A digression concerning shipping and navigation.

The Irish kern, &c.

Kern signifies a clown or peasant. In Spencer it is used for a foot-soldier.

Add but a sail, and Saturn so appear'd,
When from lost empire he to exile went.

Saturn being driven out of Crete by his son Jupiter, who usurped his throne, fled into Italy by sea, where he civilized the people, taught them the advantages of commerce, and the use of coin. From him the land was called Saturnia and Latium; the latter name is derived from *Latius*.

Inde diu genti mansit Saturnia nomen:
Dictu fuit Latium terra, latente Deo. Ov. Fast. lib. 3.

The name Saturnia thence this land did bear,
And Latium too, because he shelter'd there.

Navigation must indeed have been very rude at the time of Saturn's making this voyage.

Coasting they kept the land, &c.

Those who first ventured upon the liquid element, made their essay in shallow waters, without trusting themselves out of sight of shore, till from being accustomed to the deceitful surface,

they acquired courage; and induced by frequent and ſucceſsful trials, they boldly launched into the main ocean. Claudian mentions this proceſs in his poem *de Raptu Proſerpinæ*.

Inventa ſecuit primus qui nave profundum,
Et rudibus remis ſolicitavit, &c.

Stanza 160, &c.

Our author now proceeds to praiſe the improvements made by his countrymen in the arts of navigation, longitude, &c. their progreſs

Beyond the year, and out of heaven's high way.

Extra anni, ſoliſque vias; *Virg.*

And then takes an opportunity to compliment the royal ſociety in *ſtanzas* 165, 166, as it owed its foundation to Charles II. and was now but in its infancy.

Stanza 167, &c.

Another ſea-fight with the Dutch.

" Both fleets were ſoon refitted; and De Ruyter was ordered " to put to ſea, to join the duke de Beaufort with the French " ſquadron. On the twenty-fourth day of July he fell in with " the Engliſh fleet, commanded by prince Rupert and the duke " of Albemarle: it amounted to above one hundred ſail, while " that of the ſtates did not exceed eighty-eight ſhips of war and " nineteen fireſhips. The battle began near the mouth of the " Thames, and was fought with equal rage and emulation. Sir " Thomas Allen, vice-admiral of the white, defeated the van of " the enemy, and three of their inferior admirals were ſlain. In " the mean time Sir Jeremy Smith, vice-admiral of the blue, was " worſted by Van Tromp, who followed the chace ſo far that he " was entirely ſeparated from the center. De Ruyter being over- " powered by numbers, ſuſtained the engagement till night with " difficulty; and was next day attacked by the whole force of " the Engliſh navy. He bore the ſhock with unſhaken reſolu- " tion, and gained more glory by his retreat than the Engliſh ac- " quired by their victory. They followed him to the coaſt of " Fluſhing, and then ſailed in queſt of Tromp, whom they de- " ſcried near Harwich; but, in ſpite of all their efforts, he re- " treated with very little loſs, to the Texel. He was of the Orange " faction, and ſuppoſed to have deſerted De Ruyter from motives " of animoſity. This admiral having complained of his conduct, " he was put under arreſt, and his commiſſion beſtowed upon

" another officer. The duke of Albemarle detached Holmes, " with a ſquadron, to inſult the coaſt of Holland. In the road " of Vlye he burned a great number of veſſels, and two ſhips " of war appointed for their convoy: then he made a deſcent " upon the iſland of Schelling, and reduced the town of Bran- " daris to aſhes. After this expedition, the Engliſh fleet took " their ſtation near the Iſle of Wight, to hinder the junction of " the French and Dutch ſquadrons, while De Ruyter anchored in " the road of St. John, near Boulogne. There he was taken " dangerouſly ill of a contagious diſtemper, which had made ter- " rible havock among the ſeamen; and the ſtates thought pro- " per to recal him to Holland. The duke of Beaufort, thinking " they were ſtill in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, ſailed up the " channel as far as Dieppe, and then directed his courſe to the " coaſt of Britanny, without ſuffering the leaſt moleſtation from " the Engliſh."

Old expert Allen, &c.

Sir Thomas Allen was admiral of the white.

Holmes the Achates of the, &c.

Sir Robert Holmes was rear-admiral of the white, called the Achates from his eagerneſs to ſupport the general. Achates was the faithful companion of Æneas. For an illuſtration of the two laſt lines of this ſtanza, ſee our notes to the Satire on the Dutch.

With him went Spragge, &c.

Sir Edward Spragge ſerved under Sir Jeremiah Smith, who carried the blue flag: he was drowned paſſing from one ſhip to another, in a fight with Van Tromp, on the eleventh of Auguſt, 1672, bearing the character of a gallant officer, and an accompliſhed gentleman.

Harman, who did the twice-fir'd, &c.

Theſe two lines cannot be more properly explained, than by the following extract from the London Gazette of the fourth of June, 1666.

" Alborough, June 2. This day is come in hither the Henry, " Captain Harman, commander, who parted from the fleet, " much diſabled, at nine o'clock laſt night, having had the luck it " ſeems to have a great part of the Dutch fleet upon her ſingly, " which ſhe ſupported bravely, and forced her way quite thro " them, tho not without much damage, which the enemy finding, " endeavored to clap a fireſhip upon her, but ſhe nimbly ſtruck

" him off; after which comes up one of their admirals, and faſ-
" tened a ſecond fireſhip, with which ſhe grappled long, but at
" laſt took fire in one of her quarters, which yet ſhe happily
" quenched. After this a third fireſhip was laid on her, which
" diſabled as ſhe was, ſhe ſo mauled with her chace-pieces, that
" ſhe cut ſhort her main-yard, and ſo eſcaped him. She had ſe-
" veral of her men killed and wounded; amongſt theſe latter is
" the captain himſelf, but it is hoped without danger. The
" fleet is in a very good condition, not one of our veſſels having
" been taken."

Stanza 175.

Capt. Hollis, of the Antelope ſhip of war, loſt a hand in this memorable fight: to his writings I confeſs myſelf a ſtranger. I believe it is the ſame perſon who commanded the Cambridge under the name of Sir Fretchville Hollis, in 1672, when he was killed in another ſea-fight with the Dutch.

——— *Neptune* ———
——With his trident ſhow'd them off the ſand.

Levat ipſe tridenti, et vaſtas aperit ſyrtes. *Virg.*

And ſeeming to be ſtronger makes them ſo.

Poſſunt, quia poſſe videntur. *Virg.*

As Varro timely flying once, &c.

Terentius Varro being defeated by Hannibal at Cannæ, wrote to the ſenate that he did not however deſpair of the republic; in conſequence of which the ſenate voted him thanks.—" Quia " de republica non deſperaſſet." See the 23d book of *Livy*.

———*the Belgians did retire*
Before the patron ſaint of injur'd Spain.

This victory was completed on the twenty-fifth day of July, a day ſacred to St. James the great, patron of Spain, which nation our author calls injured, inaſmuch the Hollanders had rebelled againſt King Philip II. being aided by Queen Elizabeth: and the next ſtanza refers to this tranſaction, for which the poet ſuppoſes us now to have atoned. The monarchy mentioned in the 199th ſtanza is Spain, with which Queen Elizabeth had been long at variance, when, in our author's opinion, we overlooked the growing power of France and Holland, which merited much more our attention.

Stanza 204, &c.

This and the five following ſtanzas celebrate Sir Robert Holmes' having burned the Dutch fleet at Uly, as related in our note on ſtanza 167.

Stanza 209.

The reſt of this poem deſcribes the fire of London, and commemorates the noble behavior of the king and his brother, during the time of the conflagration.

——— *thou didſt expire*
Great as the world, which at the death of time,
Muſt fall, and riſe a nobler frame by fire.

——In fatis reminiſcitur, affore tempus
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaq; regia cœli
Ardeat, &c. *Ovid. Metamor.*

——— *the fire* ———
——— *ſmouldering as it went.*———

To ſmoulder, ſignifies to burn without vent.
Johnſon's Dict.

——— *no longer letted of his prey.*

To *lett*, is an old Engliſh word uſed in the place of, *to hinder*. Thus Hamlet, when with-held by his friends from following his father's ghoſt, cries out,

" Away, I ſay——unhand me, gentlemen——
" By heaven I'll make a ghoſt of him that *letts* me."
Shakeſpear.

——— *fire* ———
Lighten'd all the river with a blaze.

——— Sigæa igni freta lata relucent.
Virg. Æn. Lib. II.

———— *Thames* ———
——— *fear'd the fate of Simois.*

Simois, a river running by Troy, which in the conflagration of that unfortunate city, may be ſuppoſed to have been affected by the fire.

But

But ſtreight like Turks forc'd on, &c.

The Turks are not only predeſtinarians, but they alſo believe that every man, who dies fighting againſt unbelievers, for ſo they call all who differ from them in religion, goes directly to Paradiſe. Theſe tenets often encourage thoſe to fight who have no great ſtomachs to it; and, in this ſenſe, they may be ſaid to be forced on.

The fugitive flames chaſtis'd, went forth to prey
On pious ſtructures by our fathers rear'd,
By which to heaven they did affect the way,
Ere faith in churchmen without works was heard.

This paſſage is a ſarcaſm upon thoſe who reduce all principles of religion to the ſingle article of faith, which, according to ſome, is ſufficient for ſalvation, excluſive of every other tenet.

Nor could thy fabric, Paul's, defend thee long.

Mr. Waller addreſſes a poem to King Charles I. upon that monarch's repairing the old cathedral of St. Paul's. Sir John Denham has beſtowed ſome verſes on the ſame ſubject, in the beginning of his Cooper's Hill.

The father of the people open'd wide
His ſtores, and all the poor with plenty fed.

The poor people that were burned out, built huts and ſheds of boards for ſhelter in Moorfields, and other outlets of the city; and the king was often ſeen among them, enquiring into their wants, and doing every thing in his power to comfort them. He moreover ordered the juſtices of the peace to ſee them ſupplied with food, and to be careful of preventing foreſtallers from taking advantage of their diſtreſſes; beſides which he commanded, that the biſcuits, and other proviſions, laid up in the Tower for the uſe of his army and navy, ſhould be carried out and diſtributed among them. Enjoying ſuch benefits from his royal preſence, we are not to wonder at the citizens begging him not to leave them, when it was ſuppoſed he was going into the country. *Vide ſtanza* 288.

Not with more conſtancy, the Jews of old
By Cyrus, from rewarded exile ſent;
Their royal city did in duſt behold,
Or with more vigor to rebuild it went.

Cyrus the Great, king of Perſia, having taken Babylon, by turning the courſe of the river Euphrates, laid the foundation of

the Perſian monarchy, and ſet the Jews at liberty after a captivity of ſeventy years. On their return home, they ſet about rebuilding the city and temple of Jeruſalem.

Now frequent trines the happier lights among.

The word *trine* is applied to a triangular conjunction of planets, in which they are ſuppoſed, by aſtrologers, to be eminently benign: and ſuch an aſpect, our author prophecies, ſhall ſucceed to the ill ſtars that have lately preſided over us.

Methinks already from this, &c.

" London ſoon roſe more beautiful from its aſhes. The king, " by a ſtretch of the prerogative power, regulated the plans of " the new ſtreets, ſo as to render them more ſpacious and conve- " nient than thoſe which had been burned; and he prohibited " the uſe of lath and timber, as materials for the conſtruction of " the houſes. The narrowneſs of the ſtreets had not only ſub- " jected them to caſualties of this nature, but alſo prevented a " free circulation of air, which, being impregnated with animal " vapours, was apt to putrify, and produce infectious diſtempers, " inſomuch that London was ſcarce ever free from a contagion; " whereas, no ſuch diſtemper has appeared ſince the city was re- " built.

" The fire of London was ſaid to be the effect of malicious de- " ſign, and variouſly imputed to the Roman catholics and the " republicans, as the ſtream of prejudice happened to run; tho' " it does not appear how ſuch a ſcheme could contribute to the " intereſt of either party. The populace generally exclaimed " againſt the catholics as the authors of this conflagration. The " parliament appointed a committee to make a ſevere ſcrutiny on " this ſubject, but nothing appeared to the prejudice of the Pa- " piſts; yet the miſchief is charged upon them, in the inſcription " engraved on the pillar that was erected as a monument of this " calamity." *Smollett's Hiſt. of England.*

Which Mr. Pope ſays,

" Like a tall bully lifts its head, and lies."

——— *the Cape once doubled, fear no more:*
A conſtant trade-wind will ſecurely blow.

Sailors generally imagine themſelves out of danger on an Eaſt-India voyage, when they double the Cape of Good-Hope, becauſe then they get into the trade-winds, or monſoons, that always blow in a certain direction.

Before we dismiss the notes upon this poem, we must observe, that we have found it inferior to all Dryden's subsequent works: his images are, in many places, low, even to burlesque. For example, Can any thing be meaner than his introducing God putting out the fire of London with an extinguisher? or, his description of the ships repairing in port? Nay, in his similies there are some good specimens of the bathos; yet his poetical genius, every now and then, breaks out with such force, as to pay us with interest for our foregoing toil. The *course of his hunted hare*, stanza 131, 132, makes ample amends for the *murthering cannon that speak thick like angry men*; and his *eagle in her flight*, stanza 107, covers a multitude of imperfections.

An Essay on Satire.

THIS piece was written in 1679, and handed about in manuscript some time before it made its appearance in print. It is supposed to have occasioned the beating Mr. Dryden received in Rose-street, Covent-Garden, of which we have taken notice in his life. The earl of Mulgrave's name has been always joined with Dryden's, as concerned in the composition; and that nobleman somewhere takes notice, that Dryden

Was prais'd and beaten for another's rhymes.

It is not improbable, that Rochester's character was drawn by his lordship, who held him in high contempt, after his behaving in a very dastardly manner when he challenged him. How, indeed, Lord Mulgrave came to subscribe to so disagreeable a picture of himself, is hard to divine.

Morals to Armstrong or dull Aston teach?

Sir Thomas Armstrong had been knighted by King Charles II. for some services received from him during the protectorship, he having been sent over to his majesty, when in Holland, with a sum of money, raised among some of his faithful subjects, for his royal use. He afterwards bore a lieutenant-colonel's commission in the first troop of horse-guards, and was appointed gentleman of horse to the king. Being a man of a loose immoral character; and of no fixed principles, either in religion or politics, he joined in the Ryehouse-Plot, and then escaped into Holland. Five hundred pounds were offered as a reward for taking him. Lewis

XIV. out of compliment to King Charles, offered five hundred pounds to any one who ſhould ſecure him in the dominions of France. He was at length ſeized at Leyden, brought over to England, and condemned to die by Judge Jefferies, who treated him in a very unbecoming manner.

Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that he died with great meekneſs and reſignation, expreſſing a hearty repentance for his paſt profligate life. King Charles, about the time of Sir Thomas's execution, told ſeveral people, that he had been lately aſſured Sir Thomas had been ſuborned by Cromwell, to take away his life when he waited on him in Holland, but he found no opportunity of perpetrating his crime; for failing in which, the Protector impriſoned him on his return home. Tho this ſtory came from a royal mouth, few people believed it; yet it is certain, that Cromwell kept him a year in priſon.

He was hanged at Tyburn on the twentieth of June, 1684: his head was fixed upon Weſtminſter-Hall, between thoſe of Cromwell and Bradſhaw, and his quarters upon Temple-Bar, Aldgate, Alderſgate, and the town-wall of Stafford. It is ſaid he was a native of Nimeguen, a city of Guelderland, and would have claimed from the ſtates-general the protection of a native, if he had not been carried away as ſoon as he was arreſted.

I find in Wood's Faſti, mention made of one James Aſton, a divine, of whom no more is ſaid than that he was a zealous loyaliſt, and about this time well beneficed. It is not unlikely, that it is the ſame perſon whom we find here celebrated for dullneſs; for, had he excelled in any thing elſe, Wood would not have failed to remark it.

Who would not be as ſilly as Dunbar,
As dull as Monmouth rather than Sir Carr.

There was a Lord Viſcount Dunbar, and a colonel of the ſame name, about this time at court; but to which to apply this character I cannot tell, as I never met with any of their private hiſtory.

Monmouth is ſaid to have been brave, ſoft, gentle, and ſincere, open to the groſſeſt adulation, and ſtrongly addicted to his pleaſures: he was, upon the whole, a man of very weak parts, graceful in his perſon, and of an endearing placid deportment. *See our notes upon Abſalom and Achitophel.*

Sir Carr Scrope is the third perſon in this verſe: he was the ſon of Sir Adrian Scrope, a Lincolnſhire knight, and bred at Oxford, where he took a maſter's degree in 1664; and in 1666 he was created a baronet. He was intimate with the moſt cele-

brated genuiſes of King Charles's court, had a very pretty turn for poetry, and was certainly ſomething more than a half-wit. His tranſlation of Sappho to Phaon, among the epiſtles of Ovid, is in ſome eſtimation; and many looſe ſatires, handed about in manuſcript, were ſet down to his account. He is mentioned thus in the firſt vol. of State Poems, p. 200,

" —— Sir Carr, that knight of wither'd face,
" Who, for reverſion of a poet's place,
" Waits on Melpomene, and ſooths her grace.
" That angry miſs alone he ſtrives to pleaſe,
" For fear the reſt ſhould teach him wit and eaſe,
" And make him quit his lov'd laborious walks,
" When ſad or ſilent o'er the room he ſtalks
" And ſtrives to write as wiſely as he talks."

And again, in the third vol. part I. p. 148,

" ——————— no man can compare
" For carriage, youth, and beauty, with Sir Carr,"

He died at his houſe in St. Martin's-fields, Weſtminſter, in the latter end of the year 1680.

Nor ſhall the royal miſtreſſes be nam'd.

About the time of the writing this poem, the king, if we may rely upon Biſhop Burnet's authority, divided all his ſpare time between the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth and Nell Gwin.

Ernely and Aileſbury, with all that race
Of buſy blockheads, ſhall have here no place,
At council ſet as foils on Danby's ſcore.

Sir John Ernely was bred to the law: he was chancellor of the exchequer in the year 1686, and made one of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, in the room of the lord-treaſurer Hyde, Earl of Rocheſter.

Robert, the firſt Earl of Aileſbury, was the ſon of Thomas Bruce, Earl of Elgin in Scotland, and created by King Charles Lord Bruce in England. In 1685 he ſucceeded the Earl of Arlington as lord-chamberlain of the king's houſhold, and died a few months afterwards. Wood gives him the character of a man of learning, a benefactor to the clergy, a great antiquarian, and ſays he was well ſkilled in the hiſtory of his own country.

Thomas, Earl of Danby, anceſtor to the preſent Duke of Leeds, came out of Yorkſhire, and was very zealous in forwarding the reſtoration; for which ſpecial ſervice he was made treaſurer of the navy, then a privy-counſellor, and in 1673, lord high-treaſurer of England. He enjoyed a great ſhare of the royal favor, which, perhaps, promoted his being impeached by the commons for monopoly and miſmanagement: he was pardoned by the king, which occaſioned much diſcontent; was zealous in procuring a match between the Prince of Orange and Lady Mary, afterwards King and Queen of England; a principal actor in the revolution, and chairman of that committee of the whole houſe, which, on King James's flight, voted an abdication, and advanced William to the throne; wherefore he was made preſident of the council; and raiſed to the dignity of Marquis of Carmarthen and Duke of Leeds, about three years afterwards. He died in the year 1712, aged eighty-one.

Firſt let's behold the merrieſt man alive.

This character is ſo ſtrongly and ſo juſtly marked, that it is impoſſible to miſtake its being intended for Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Earl of Shafteſbury: "A man of little ſteadineſs, but "ſuch uncommon talents, that he acquired great weight with "every party he eſpouſed: he was turbulent, reſtleſs, ambi- "tious, ſubtle, and enterpriſing: he had conquered all ſenſe of "ſhame, was reſtrained by no fears, and influenced by no prin- "ciples." *Smollett's Hiſt.*

In the firſt vol. of the State Poems, p. 140, he is mentioned thus:

"A little bobtail'd lord, urchin of ſtate,
"A *praiſe-god-barc-bone* peer, whom all men hate;
"Amphibious animal—half fool, half knave."

——————— *as Nokes and Lee.*

Theſe were two celebrated comedians in Charles the IId's reign.

So Cat transform'd, &c.

Alluding to the fable of a cat's being turned into a woman, at the interceſſion of a young man that loved it; but forgetting herſelf ſhe ran after a mouſe, and was reduced to her priſtine ſhape.

The new earl with parts deserving praise,
And wit enough to laugh at his own ways,
Yet loses all, &c.

This character was well known to be drawn for Arthur Earl of Essex, son to the Lord Capel, who was put to death by the regicides; but wherefore he should be called the *new earl*, I cannot see, since we find in Collins's Peerage, that he was created Earl of Essex in the year 1661, eighteen years before the publication of this piece. He was very fond of the lieutenancy of Ireland, which he had held from July 1672, to 1677; and though the Duke of Ormond was much fitter for that important post, as being better acquainted with the genius and polity of the nation, and more agreeable to the people; yet he did every thing in his power to undermine that nobleman, with a view of again obtaining his government. He afterwards opposed the court, piqued perhaps because he was not gratified in all his desires, and perhaps from the republican principles, which he seemed to cherish, tho so different from those of his unfortunate father.

He was taken into custody and committed to the Tower, for being concerned in the Ryehouse-Plot; and he was found in his apartment there, with his throat cut from ear to ear, on the very morning of Lord Russell's execution.

Lord Essex was a man of indifferent abilities, but what the world calls cunning; his education had been neglected in the civil wars, but he had a smattering of Latin, knew something of mathematics, and had a little knowledge of the law; he aspired at being something greater than either nature or education had fitted him for, and his disappointment perhaps gave him an atrabilarious sourness, that ended in suicide, for which he was a professed advocate.

——— *for silly Tropos' sake.*

Sir William Scroggs is meant by Tropos. He was lord chief justice of the King's Bench, and a violent prosecutor of the persons supposed to be concerned in the Popish plot: but when he found that Shaftesbury had, in reality, no interest at court, he quitted that party, and acted as much as possibly he could against it. This occasioned an accusation to be preferred against him by Oates and Bedloe, but it was never supported, his weight not being thought worth removing. He was resolute and penetrating, had a good deal of wit, and spoke fluently and boldly; but he often over-reached himself by being warm. He seems not to

have been a man of muth eſtimation; and Roger North, in his Examen, ſays, his courſe of life was ſcandalous.

Thus Dorſet purring like, &c.

Charles Earl of Dorſet, about this time forty years of age, was one of the beſt bred men of his time. He was a lord of the bed-chamber, and ſent ſeveral times with compliments, or on ſhort embaſſies, to France, for the king could not bear to be long without him: he was a moſt munificent patron; learning and genius were ſure of his protection; and when our author was deprived of the bayes, he allowed him the laureat's annual ſtipend out of his own private purſe. Arthur Manwaring, Mr. Prior, and many other men of abilities, owed to him their being advanced and provided for. Nor was he leſs brave than polite and learned; for he attended the Duke of York as a volunteer in the firſt Dutch war; and by his coolneſs, courage and conduct ſhewed himſelf a worthy repreſentative of his many illuſtrious anceſtors. The night before the famous battle, in which the Dutch admiral Opdam was blown up, he made a celebrated ſong, with the greateſt compoſure, beginning,

To you fair ladies now at land,
We men at ſea indite, &c.

No man had more eaſe or good-humor; his converſation was refined and ſprightly: he had ſtudied books and men deeply, and to good purpoſe: he was an excellent critic, and good poet, with a ſtrong turn to ſatire, for which he is thus highly complimented in the State Poems, vol. I. p. 200.

" Dorſet writes ſatire too, and writes ſo well,
" O great *Apollo!* let him ſtill rebel.
" Pardon a muſe which does, like his, excel,
" Pardon a muſe which does, with art, ſupport
" Some drowſy wit in our unthinking court."

He wrote with ſeverity, but that ſeverity was always juſtly pointed; and Lord Rocheſter calls him,

" The beſt good man, with the worſt-natur'd muſe."

His firſt wife the Counteſs-Dowager of Falmouth, had proved a *barren wife*. Of her having been a *teeming widow* I am ignorant. His ſecond wife, whom he married in 1685, was daughter to the Earl of Northampton, and mother to the preſent Duke of

Dorset. He was principally concerned in bringing about the revolution; was lord-chamberlain to King William and Queen Mary; chosen a knight of the garter in 1691, and several times appointed one of the regents, when the affairs of Europe demanded the absence of the king. He died at Bath in 1706, aged sixty-nine, lamented by every class of people, and the most opposite parties. Mr. Pope gives him these lines:

" Dorset, the grace of courts, the muse's pride,
" Patron of arts, and judge of nature, dy'd."

Dull as Ned Howard, whom his briſker times
Had fam'd for dullneſs in malicious rhymes.

Edward Howard, Esq; a gentleman of the Berkshire family, consequently related to Sir Robert Howard. He wrote four plays, called, 1st. The Man of Newmarket, a comedy. 2d. Six Days Adventure; or, The New Utopia, a comedy. 3d. The Usurper, a tragedy. 4th. Women's Conquest, a tragi-comedy: but none of them succeeded on the stage, nor procured him any reputation. He also published an Epic poem, called The British Princes, for which he was severely ridiculed by all the wits of his age: Lord Rochester, Lord Dorset, Mr. Waller, the Duke of Buckingham, Dr. Spratt, Lord Vaughan, published lampoons upon it, most of them printed in the six volumes of Miscellanies published by Dryden.

Mulgrave had much ado to 'ſcape the ſnare.

We shall speak of Lord Mulgrave elsewhere.

And little Sid. for ſimile renown'd,
Pleaſure has always ſought but never found.

This Sidney, brother of Algernoon Sidney and the Earl of Leicester, was rather a man of pleasure than of business; his talents were great, but his indolence was greater; his appearance was graceful; he was a favorite with the ladies, had a turn for intrigue, and was of a disposition exactly fitted to Charles's court, easy, affable, and insinuating; free from any guile, and a friend to mankind. In 1679 he went envoy to the Hague, where he contracted an intimacy with the Prince of Orange, whose friends he heartily assisted in raising him to the throne, being himself a messenger from England to Holland upon that very business in 1688. He was raised to the dignity of Lord Sidney, and Earl of Rumney, in 1688; declared secretary of state, master of the ordnance, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland in

1689; and was removed from the latter poſt in 1693, it being thought that he held the reins of power with too ſlack a hand.

Till he take Hewit and Jack Hall for wits.

Sir George Hewit, a man of quality, famous for gallantry, and often named in the State Poems. Sir George Etherege intended for him the celebrated character of Sir Fopling Flutter.

" Scarce will there greater grief pierce every heart,
" Should Sir George Hewit, or Sir Carr, depart.
" Had it not better been, than thus to roam,
" To ſtay and tie the cravat-ſtring at home;
" To ſtrut, look big, ſhake Pantaloon, and ſwear,
" With Hewit, dammee, there's no action there."
State Poems, Vol. I. p. 155.

The above lines are addreſſed by Rocheſter to Lord Mulgrave, when bound for Tangier.

Jack Hall, a courtier, whom I take to be the ſame with Uzza in the ſecond part of Abſalom and Achitophel, is thus mentioned in the State Poems, vol. II. p. 135.

" Jack Hall——————left town,
" But firſt writ ſomething he dare own,
" Of prologue lawfully begotten,
" And full nine months maturely thought on:
" Born with hard labor, and much pain,
" Ouſely was Dr. Chamberlain.
" At length from ſtuff and rubbiſh pick'd,
" As bear's cubs into ſhape are lick'd,
" When Wharton, Etherege, and Soame,
" To give it their laſt ſtrokes were come,
" Thoſe critics differ'd in their doom.
" Yet Swan ſays, he admir'd it 'ſcap'd,
" Since 'twas Jack Hall's, without being clapp'd.

Swan was a notorious punſter.

Rocheſter I deſpiſe, &c.

Wilmot, Earl of Rocheſter, was naturally modeſt, till the court corrupted him. His wit had in it a brightneſs, to which few could ever arrive. He gave himſelf up to all ſorts of extravagance, and to the wildeſt frolics that a wanton wit could deviſe. He went about the ſtreets as a beggar; made love as a porter; ſet up a ſtage as an Italian mountebank; was, for ſome years, al-

ways drunk, ever doing miſchief. The king loved his company for the diverſion it afforded, better than his perſon; and there was no love loſt between them. He took his revenges in many libels: he found out a footman that knew all the court, whom he furniſhed with a red coat and a muſket, as a centinel, and kept him all the winter long every night, at the doors of ſuch ladies as he ſuſpected of intrigues. In the court a centinel is little minded, and is believed to be poſted by a captain of the guards to hinder a combat; ſo this man ſaw who walked about, and viſited at forbidden hours. By this means Lord Rocheſter made many diſcoveries; and when he was well furniſhed with materials, he uſed to retire into the country for a month or two to write libels.

Once, being drunk, he intended to give the king a libel that he had wrote on ſome ladies; but, by a miſtake, he gave him one written on himſelf, which brought him for that time into diſgrace. He fell into an ill habit of body, and in ſeveral fits of ſickneſs he had deep remorſes, for he was guilty of much impiety, and of great immoralities; but as he recovered he threw theſe off, and returned again to his former ill courſes.

This is the account given of Lord Rocheſter by Biſhop Burnet, who attended him in his illneſs; and who ſays, he is ſure he would have continued to live a regular religious life, in caſe he had ſurvived.

He had ſerved as a volunteer in the Dutch war, and behaved with ſuch undaunted reſolution, that it can ſcarcely be reconciled to his daſtardly conduct afterwards in private life; for it is certain, that he was not only capable of ſatirizing in the ſevereſt manner, but of ſuſtaining the due reward of his abuſe without reſentment: ſo that he is ſaid to have

His own kickings notably contriv'd.

And we can only reconcile theſe contradictions in conduct, by remembering his uninterrupted courſe of riot and debauchery, which had enervated all mental as well as corporeal faculties, and eradicated every virtue; beſides, it is a juſt obſervation, that no two things can be more oppoſite, than one and the ſame man at different times. He envied Dryden's great ſucceſs, while he acknowledged his ſuperior abilities, and ſupported Crown againſt him, whom he forſook, and oppoſed with equal virulence, when his Conqueſt of Jeruſalem procured him ſome reputation. This is one reaſon for his being introduced here, in a light ſo very unpleaſing, tho not untrue; for the picture reſembles him in every thing but want of wit, which is a miſrepreſentation. As he was

one of the lewdeſt writers of his time, ſeveral collections of obſcene poems, many of which he never ſaw, have been publiſhed under his name.

He was looked upon to be maſter of ſo much inſinuation, that no woman was ſeen talking to him three times, without loſing her reputation; and if he did not make himſelf maſter of her perſon, he ſcrupled not ſcandalizing her to the world. Indeed, in his latter days it was only talk; for his debaucheries had diſabled him from action, and his inability was univerſally known.

A very Killigrew without good nature.

Thomas Killigrew, of whom we hear daily ſo many pleaſant ſtories related, had good natural parts, but no regular education. He was brother to Sir William Killigrew, vice-chamberlain to King Charles the IId's queen; had been ſome time page of honor to King Charles I. and was, after the reſtoration, many years maſter of the revels, and groom of the chamber to King Charles II. in whoſe exile he ſhared, being his reſident at Venice in 1651. During his travels abroad he wrote ſeveral plays, none of which are much talked of. His itch of writing, and his character as a wit and companion, occaſioned this diſtich from Sir John Denham:

"Had Cowley ne'er ſpoke, Killigrew ne'er writ,
"Combin'd in one they'd made a matchleſs wit."

The ſame knight wrote a ballad on him.

Killigrew was a moſt facetious companion; his wit was lively and ſpirited; and he had a manner of ſaying the bittereſt things, without provoking reſentment; he tickled you while he made you ſmart, and you overlooked the pain, charmed by the pleaſure. He died at Whitehall in March 1682, aged ſeventy-one, bewailed by his friends, and truly wept for by the poor.

For what a Beſſus has he always liv'd.

Beſſus is a remarkable cowardly character in Beaumont and Fletcher.

ABSALOM and ACHITOPHEL.

A POEM, *published* 1681.

The Occaſion of it explained.

THE Earl of Shafteſbury ſeemed bent upon the ruin of the Duke of York. It was moſtly thro his influence in both houſes, that thoſe infamous witneſſes, Oates, Tongue, Bedloe, &c. were ſo ſtrenuouſly encouraged, and the Popiſh plot, if not ſchemed by him, was at leaſt by him cheriſhed and ſupported. He had been heard to ſay with ſome exultation, *I won't pretend to pronounce who ſtarted the game, but I am ſure I have had the full hunting.* At this day that plot appears, to impartial and diſcerning eyes, to have been a forgery contrived to inflame the minds of the people againſt Popery, a religion now profeſſed by the duke, that the bill for excluding him from the throne, might meet with more countenance and greater certainty of ſucceſs; and it went very near having the deſired effect.

The indiſcreet zeal, and imprudent conduct of the Roman Catholics, for ſome time paſt, had given too much room for ſuſpicion; they having often openly, and in defiance of the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom, ſhewn a thorough contempt for the eſtabliſhed religion of their country, propagated as much as poſſible their own tenets, loudly triumphed in their progreſs, and daily acquiſition of proſelytes among all ranks of people, without the leaſt ſecrecy or caution. Hence was the nation ripe for alarm; when given, it ſpread like wild-fire; and the Duke of York, as head of the party at which it was aimed, was obliged to withdraw to Bruſſels to avoid the impending ſtorm.

The king being ſome time after taken ill, produced his highneſs's ſudden return, before his enemies and thoſe in the oppoſition to the court-meaſures, could provide for his reception; ſo that their ſchemes were thus for a while diſconcerted. Leaſt his preſence might revive commotion, he returned again to Bruſſels, and was then permitted (previouſly) to retire to Scotland, having received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his brother's affection and reſolution to ſecure him and his heirs the ſucceſſion. He had before this the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the turbulent Earl of Shafteſbury removed from his ſeat and precedence in the privy-council, as well as all ſhare in the miniſtry; and now prevailed to have the

Duke of Monmouth dismissed from all his posts, and sent into Holland.

Shaftesbury's views were to lift Monmouth to the throne, whose weaknesses he knew he could so effectually manage, as to have the reins of government in that case in his own hands. Monmouth was the eldest of the king's sons, by whom he was tenderly beloved. His mother was one Mrs. Lucy Walters, otherwise Barlow, a Pembrokeshire woman, who bore him at Rotterdam in 1649, and between whom and his majesty it was artfully reported, there had passed a contract of marriage. This report was narrowly examined into, and proved false, to the full satisfaction of the privy-council, and of the people in general, tho Shaftesbury did all in his power to support and establish a belief of its reality. The youth was educated at Paris under the queen-mother, and brought over to England in 1662: soon after which time he was created Duke of Orkney in Scotland, and Monmouth in England, or rather Wales; chosen a knight of the garter; appointed master of horse to his majesty, general of the land-forces, colonel of the life-guard of horse, lord-lieutenant of the east-riding of Yorkshire, governor of Kingston-upon-Hull, chief justice in eyre on the south of the river Trent; lord-chamberlain of Scotland, and Duke of Buccleugh, in right of his wife, who was daughter and heiress to a noble and wealthy earl, bearing that name: but he lost all those places of honour and fortune, together with his royal father's favour, by the insinuation and art of Shaftesbury, who poisoned him with illegal and ambitious notions, that ended in his destruction.

The partizans of this earl, and other malecontents, had long pointed out his grace as a proper successor to the crown, instead of the Duke of York, in case of the king's demise; and he began to believe that he had a real right to be so. At the instigation of his old friend Shaftesbury, he returned to England without his father's consent, who would not see him; and, instead of obeying the royal mandate to retire again, he and Shaftesbury jointly made a pompous parade thro several counties in the West and North of England, scattering the seeds of discord and disaffection; so that their designs seemed to be levelled against the government, and a tempest was gathering at a distance, not unlike that which swept the royal martyr from his throne and life. Many people, who would not otherwise have taken part with the court, shuddering when they looked back upon the scenes of anarchy and confusion, that had followed that melancholy catastrophe, in order to prevent the return of a similar storm, attached themselves to the king and the Duke of York; and the latter returned to court, where he kept his ground.

The kingdom was now in a high fermentation; the murmurs of each party broke out into altercation, and declamatory abuſe. Every day produced new libels and diſloyal pamphlets. To anſwer and expoſe them, their partizans and abettors, ſeveral authors were retained by authority, but none came up to the purpoſe ſo well as Sir Roger L'eſtrange, in the Obſervator; and the poet laureat, in the poem under inſpection, the elegance and ſeverity of which raiſed his character prodigiouſly, and ſhewed the proceedings of Shafteſbury and his followers in a moſt ſevere light. Theſe writings, according to Echard, in a great meaſure ſtemmed the tide of a popular current, that might have otherwiſe immerſed the nation in ruin. His grace the Duke of Monmouth, afterwards engaged in the Ryehouſe-Plot, and a reward was offered for the taking him, both by his father and Lewis XIV. whether in England or France. He obtained his pardon both of the king and duke, by two very ſubmiſſive, nay abject, letters; and being admitted to the royal preſence, ſeemed extremely ſorry for his paſt offences, confeſſed his having engaged in a deſign for ſeizing the king's guards, and changing the government, but denied having any knowledge of a ſcheme for aſſaſſinating either his father or uncle, which it ſeems was ſet on foot by the inferior miniſters of this conſpiracy.

Preſuming, however, upon the king's paternal affection, he ſoon recanted his confeſſion, and conſorted with his old followers; ſo that the king forbid him the court, and he retired to Holland, from whence he returned in 1685, raiſed a rebellion againſt his uncle then on the throne, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king, and being defeated and taken priſoner, was beheaded on Tower-Hill in his thirty-ſixth year.

To the Reader.

For wit and fool are conſequents of Whig and Tory.

It was now that the party-diſtinctions of Whig and Tory were firſt adopted; the courtiers were deridingly compared to the Iriſh banditti, who were called Tories; and they likened their opponents to Whigs, a denomination of reproach, formerly given the Scotch covenanters, who were ſuppoſed to live on a poor kind of buttermilk ſo called. Theſe names ſtill diſtinguiſh contending parties in England, tho ſtrangely varied from their original application.

ABSALOM and ACHITOPHEL. Part I.

THIS poem is ſaid to be one of the moſt perfect allegorical pieces that our language ever produced. It is carried on thro the whole with equal ſtrength and propriety. The veil is no where laid aſide. There is a juſt ſimilarity in the characters, which are exactly pourtrayed; the lineaments are well copied; the colouring is lively; the groupings ſhew the hand of a maſter, and may ſerve to convince us, that Mr. Dryden knew his own power, when he aſſerted, that he found it eaſier to write ſeverely than gently. Many editions of this poem were ſold in a very ſhort time: the name of the author was, for ſome time, a ſecret, and the real merits of it were allowed, even by the enemies of the cauſe it was meant to aſſiſt. Dr. William Coward, a phyſician of Merton college, Oxford, publiſhed a Latin tranſlation of it in 1682; as did alſo the celebrated Dr. Francis Atterbury, afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter. A piece of ſuch reputation and ſervice to a particular party, could not appear without much cenſure, and many anſwers; among the moſt remarkable of which we may reckon Azariah and Huſnai; and Abſalom ſenior, or Achitophel tranſproſed; a poem, dedicated to the Tories, as this was to the Whigs. Here the ſatire is transferred to the Duke of York; and from the four following lines in the ſecond part of Abſalom and Achitophel, we are to ſuppoſe, that Elkanah Settle was the author of it, to whom alſo the other piece is attributed.

Inſtinct he follows, and no farther knows,
For to write verſe with him is to ——— tranſproſe.
'Twere petty treaſon at his door to lay,
Who makes——heaven's lock a door to its own key.

Wood tells us, that the Duke of Buckingham printed a looſe ſheet of paper ſoon after the publication of this poem, intitled, Reflections upon it, which contain nothing material, and were ſold very dear. The application of the ſtory of Abſalom to this part of King Charles the IId's reign, was firſt made by a clergyman in the pulpit, and his ſermon was printed with the title of Abſalom and Achitophel.

Theſe Adam-wits, &c.

Perſons diſcontented in happy circumſtances are not unluckily called *Adam-wits*, from a remembrance of Adam's weakneſs in Paradiſe, who, aiming at being happier than the happieſt, by perſuaſion of Eve, eat of the forbidden fruit, and thereby forfeited the divine favour, and was excluded the garden of Eden.

——— *the falſe Achitophel* ———
A name to all ſucceeding ages curſt,

was Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, raiſed to the degree of a baron at the reſtoration, and afterwards created Earl of Shafteſbury. His firſt remarkable appearance was in the royal intereſt, 1642, being then in his twenty-firſt year. He ſoon deſerted it in diſguſt, and joined the parliament, cutting a notable figure during the interregnum, there being nothing of any conſequence tranſacted, but what he had a hand in, the king's death excepted, of which he kept clear. He conceived a diſlike to Cromwell, on being refuſed one of his daughters; and tho' he had before ſtruck in with all his meaſures, he now endeavoured to throw many difficulties in his way, but with ſo much caution, that he was not called to any account for ſo doing.

Being nouriſhed by variety, and fond of change, and having at the ſame time always an eye to his own advantage, he aſſiſted, privately, Sir George Booth's deſigns in the Weſt, in behalf of the king, which he denied with ſolemn imprecations, when charged therewith by the Rump parliament. At the reſtoration, in which he aided, he was one of the twelve members that were ſent on that occaſion to compliment the king at the Hague, when his wit and vivacity recommended him to much notice. It was at this time he received a hurt in his ſide, by being overturned in a chaiſe, which was attended with bad conſequences, being ſome years after cut for it, an iſſue remained open. His enemies thence took occaſion to ridicule him, by calling him Tapſki. Independent of politics, we have no great room to think highly of his moral character; for King Charles, in one of his ſocial hours, told him, "Shafteſ-"bury, I believe you are one of the wickedeſt fellows in the "kingdom." "Of a ſubject, Sir," anſwered he ſmartly, "it "may be." In 1672 he was removed from the exchequer, of which he was chancellor and under-treaſurer, to be one of the five commiſſioners appointed to execute the office of lord-high chancellor of England. He was alſo one of the privy-council, and a member of that famous cabal which engroſſed the king's entire confidence.

——— *the triple bond he broke.*

In the year 1667 a triple alliance was entered into between England, Sweden, and Holland, which was diſſolved by the ſecond Dutch war, to which, and a cloſer connection with France, Lord Shaftesbury contributed his advice, and thereby

——— *fitted Iſrael for a foreign yoke.*

The remaining lines allude to his having changed his opinion, when he found it unpopular, as we have obſerved above, down to

Yet fame deſerved no enemy can grudge,
The Stateſman we abhor, but praiſe the judge.

With all his failings it is on every hand allowed, that the buſineſs of the chancery was never tranſacted with more care and exactneſs, than when Lord Shaftesbury preſided in that court. His expedition was unparalelled; he made it his ſtudy to bring matters to a ſpeedy iſſue; and his ſpeeches from the bench were ſo ſtrong and concluſive, ſo fraught with knowledge, and ſo happily expreſſed, that his meaning was plain to the moſt indifferent conception. The poet ſhews himſelf truly impartial, in thus rendering him his due; and, like a maſterly painter, he has thereby thrown a ſtrong light over a piece that cannot be viewed to great advantage, nor placed in a clear ſituation.

He had in his younger days been of Lincoln's-Inn, where he ſtudied the law with great attention; but his paternal inheritance was ſo conſiderable, that he thought the practice of it ſuperfluous, except in this elevated ſtation, the dignity of which he carefully and judiciouſly preſerved. He proceeded every day from Exeter-houſe in the Strand, where he then lived, with vaſt ſolemnity, to Weſtminſter; for he ſaid the credit of all great offices ſhould be maintained with ſtate and ceremony. He altered nothing of his common garb, while he was lord-chancellor, only added an aſh-colored gown, thrown over his cloaths, richly laced with gold. How amiable does the character, drawn of him in the paſſage now before us, repreſent him? and who, without grief, can ſee it ſo unhappily contraſted in almoſt all the reſt of his life?

——— *Zimri* ———
A man ſo various, that he ſeemed to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome,

Was drawn for George Villiers, who ſucceeded to the title of Duke of Buckingham, on the death of his father, who was mur-

dered by Felton. "He had ſome wit, great vivacity, was the mi-
"niſter of riot, the ſlave of intemperance, a pretended atheiſt, with-
"out honor, principle, œconomy, or diſcretion." He had a fine per-ſon, and the women deemed him handſome; he was capricious and ſarcaſtic; ſung well; told a ſtory very facetiouſly; mimicked the failings of others admirably, and poſſeſſed ſtrong powers for ridicule; verſified with eaſe: but knew all his accompliſhments, and ſoiled them by his intolerable vanity. He had ſhared in the king's exile, and coming into poſſeſſion of more than 20,000l. per annum, at the reſtoration, was a great favorite. In 1666 it was diſcovered, that he had endeavored to ſtir up ſuch of the people that were ill-diſpoſed to the government, becauſe he had been refuſed the truſt of preſident of the North. In the following year he made his peace at court, and became a member of the cabal, which was made up of five miniſters, in whom alone the king for ſome time confided, and who led him into meaſures that were productive of all the uneaſineſs he afterwards ſuſtained. In 1675 he became a favorer of the nonconformiſts; and in the affairs of the Popiſh plot, and bill of excluſion, ſtuck cloſe to Shaftesbury, and, with all his ſtrength and influence, oppoſed the court. Having at length ſquandered away almoſt all his immenſe fortune, with the acquiſition of an infamous character, he departed this life in 1687, lamented by nobody, according to Wood, at his houſe in Yorkſhire: but Pope ſays, he died in the utmoſt miſery, in a remote inn in Yorkſhire, having run thro a fortune of 50,000l. a year, and been poſſeſſed of ſome of the higheſt poſts in the kingdom.

"In the worſt inn's worſt room, with mat half hung,
"The floors of plaiſter, and the walls of dung;
"On once a flock-bed, but repaired with ſtraw,
"With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw,
"The george and garter dangling from that bed,
"Where tawdry yellow ſtrove with dirty red;
"Great Villiers lies, alas! how chang'd from him,
"That life of pleaſure, and that ſoul of whim.
"Gallant and gay, in Cliefden's proud alcove,
"The bow'r of wanton Shrewsbury, and love;
"Or juſt as gay at council, in a ring,
"Of mimick'd ſtateſmen, and a merry king,
"No wit to flatter left, of all his ſtore!
"No fool to laugh at which he valu'd more.
"There victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
"And fame; this lord of uſeleſs thouſands ends."

His grace was the author of ſeveral pieces of entertainment, but particularly the Rehearſal; the Bayes of which he intended for Dryden, who has fully avenged himſelf in the character of Zimri, with this advantage, that the picture is an exact reſemblance.

Therefore in the name of dullneſs be
The well-hung Balaam, and cold Caleb, free;
And canting Nadab let oblivion damn,
Who made new porridge for the paſchal lamb.

Balaam, the Earl of Huntingdon; Caleb, Lord Grey of Werk; and Nadab, Lord Howard of Eſcrick.

The Earl of Huntingdon was one of thoſe who, in perſon, preſented a bill of indictment to the grand jury of Middleſex, againſt the Duke of York as a Popiſh recuſant.

Ford, Lord Grey of Werk, was ſtrongly attached to the Duke of Monmouth, a zealous promoter of Lord Shaftesbury's meaſures, and a conſtant opponent of the court. He was a ſmooth talker, poſſeſſed of a large eſtate, both which accompliſhments gave him influence among the people. Being concerned in the Ryehouſe-plot, he was arreſted, and examined before the privy-council, who ordered him to the Tower; but when the meſſenger, who had the care of him, brought him thither, the gates were ſhut, it being late, and they could not get in; ſo that they ſpent the whole night together, and drank pretty freely. In the morning they came to the Tower again very early, the doors not being as yet opened; and his keeper, who was very drunk, falling aſleep, he turned down towards the wharf, and taking oars, got off to Holland. Here he joined his old friend Monmouth, whom he contributed to ſpirit up to the rebellion in the enſuing reign, that brought that unhappy nobleman to the block.

The Duke is ſaid to have relied much upon him to very little purpoſe; for he was charged with having made a poor and cowardly figure at Sedgemore, where he headed the duke's cavalry, which was, by his daſtardly behaviour, thrown into confuſion, and the king's forces obtained a complete victory. Lord Grey was taken at Holtbridge in a ſhepherd's habit; and the duke himſelf was ſoon after ſeized in a ditch, diſguiſed like a peaſant, with a few peaſe in his pocket; neither of them behaved with compoſure or equanimity, and both were brought priſoners together to London. Monmouth's fate has been already taken notice of; but Lord Grey's life was ſaved by a proper application of ſeveral ſums of money, Lord Rocheſter having touched 16000 l. He was, beſides, mean enough to confeſs every thing that he knew

relative to Monmouth, or his deſigns, and even appeared as an evidence againſt ſeveral perſons: however, he had before ſtipulated for their lives.

Lord Howard was bred up in republican principles; he was a profeſſed enemy to monarchical government, ſtuck faſt to all Shafteſbury's ſeditious undertakings, and was very active in promoting riots, and oppoſing the Tory intereſt in the city. He had been committed to the Tower, for endeavoring to perſuade Fitzharris, who was tried for being concerned in a ſeditious libel, to accuſe the king, queen, and duke, of ſome deſigns againſt the people's liberty; and was actually engaged ſo far in the Ryehouſe-plot, as to have liſtened to a ſcheme propoſed for murdering the king. Lord Ruſſel, and ſome other men of honor, linked in this conſpiracy, knew of nothing but a deſign of ſecuring his royal perſon, till ſuch time as they ſhould have obtained from him, a certainty of the ſupport and firm eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant religion, which theſe patriots, not without reaſon, ſuppoſed to be in ſome danger.

A warrant being iſſued out againſt him on this account, he was found hid in a chimney in his own houſe, and when dragged down, behaved in the moſt contemptible manner, bewailing his misfortune with tears, promiſing to reveal every thing he knew; and he kept his word, being uſed as a witneſs againſt the good Lord Ruſſel, and many other people in great eſtimation: nor did the ſucceeding reign excuſe his being ſtill called upon to do their dirty work, a drudgery of which he complained in heavy terms.

bull-fac'd Jonas

Sir William Jones, a very great lawyer, raiſed by his own merit to the poſt of attorney-general of England, which he, in a ſhort time, reſigned, being of a rough cynical diſpoſition, conſequently unfit for a court. Burnet ſays, he refuſed the great ſeal. He entered into the warmeſt meaſures againſt the royal intereſt, ſupported the bill of excluſion with great ſtrength of argument, and ſeems to have been a moroſe well-meaning man; deeply ſkilled in the laws of his country; a good Proteſtant, purſuing violent meaſures thro the fears of the prevalence of Popery, and influenced by people of more coolneſs, depth, and penetration than himſelf.

Shimei, whoſe youth did early promiſe bring
Of zeal to God, and hatred to his king.

Shimei, Slingſby Bethel, Eſq; by poll choſen one of the ſheriffs for the city of London, on Midſummer-day 1680, was a zealous

fanatic, and had been formerly one of the committee of ſafety; however, to render himſelf fit for his office, he received the ſacrament, and renounced the covenant, but not his factious principles. Burnet calls him a man of knowledge, and ſays he wrote a learned book about the intereſt of princes; but that his miſerable way of living, and miſerly diſpoſition was very prejudicial to his party, and rendered him diſagreeable to every body.

When the king, as uſual in ſuch caſes, had changed Lord Stafford's ſentence from hanging to beheading, he officiouſly and impudently petitioned the houſe of commons, to know whether ſuch a right was veſted in the king? And he and his colleague, Henry Corniſh, tampered with Fitz-Harris, while in Newgate, about introducing the names of the king, the queen, or the duke, as concerned in the Popiſh plot; and promiſing him, in caſe he could only trump up a formal ſtory to that purpoſe, not only his life but reſtitution of his eſtate, which had been forfeited in the Iriſh rebellion: for Fitz-Harris was an Iriſh Roman Catholic.

Corniſh was a plain-ſpoken honeſt republican, who temporized for the good of his party: he was unjuſtly accuſed in 1685 of high-treaſon, and hurried out of the world without being allowed time ſufficient to prepare for his defence, for he was tried, condemned, and executed in a week; but King James was ſhortly after ſo well convinced of his innocence, that he reſtored his eſtate to his family, and condemned the two witneſſes that had appeared againſt him, Colonel Rumſey, and Goodenough the attorney, to perpetual impriſonment.

Yet Corah thou ſhalt from oblivion paſs.

Corah, Titus Oates was ſon of an Anabaptiſt ribbon-weaver, who, abandoning his ſhop for the bible, became a preacher, and was appointed chaplain to one of Cromwell's regiments in Scotland. After the reformation he conformed to the church, and obtained the living of Haſtings in Suſſex, but loſt it upon adopting his old principles. He was the principal witneſs in the Popiſh plot, and for his good ſervices lodged, at the public expence, in Whitehall, with a guard for the protection of his perſon, and a handſome ſtipend for his maintenance: but when the tide of popular credulity began to ſlacken, and his real character gained ground, he was turned out of his lodging, deprived of his guard, and of his allowance. In the beginning of King James's reign he was indicted for perjury at the court of King's Bench, and convicted upon the evidence of more than ſixty reputable witneſſes, nine of whom were Proteſtants; whereupon he was ſentenced to pay a fine of 2000 marks, to be ſcourged by the hangman twice in three days, to ſtand in the pillory, annually, in different parts

of London and Weſtminſter, and be impriſoned for life. He was ſcourged with unheard-of ſeverity, yet ſurvived to obtain his liberty, and a penſion of 400 l. per annum, in the ſucceeding reign, when, tho he did his utmoſt to have his ſentence reverſed, and brought his writ of error, for that purpoſe, in the houſe of peers, it was found impoſſible to exculpate him, or to reſtore him to the capacity of being an evidence in any court.

Burnet himſelf, who was no friend to any of the tranſactions preceding the revolution, ſpeaks of him as an infamous villain, not to be credited; and ſays, that he told him, he had entered among the jeſuits only to betray them, which God and his holy angels would witneſs; and that he would have their blood.

And Corah might for Agag's murder call.

Agag, Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a juſtice of peace, before whom Oates had made his firſt depoſition, and who was, ſoon after, found murdered in a ditch near Primroſe-hill, on the road to Hampſtead, his ſword being run quite thro his body, without any effuſion of blood. This was done, as it was ſuppoſed, with a view to make people think he had murdered himſelf; whereas, in fact, his death was occaſioned by ſtrangling, a broad livid mark being plain round his neck, which was broken, and his breaſt bruiſed in ſeveral places, as if he had been kneeled or trampled upon. His gloves and cane lay near him, his ſhoes were clean, and his money untouched. It is very ſurpriſing, that his murderers were never diſcovered, tho Bedloe, an infamous wretched incendiary, ſwore the crime againſt two or three innocent people, who ſuffered death. The Earl of Shaftesbury took prodigious pains to force ſome unhappy perſons to ſwear it upon the Papiſts, offering them 500 l. reward, in caſe they acquieſced; and menacing them in the ſevereſt manner, if they refuſed. He threatened one Mrs. Mary Gibbons, a relation of Sir Godfrey's, that ſhe ſhould be worried to death, as dogs worry cats, unleſs ſhe confeſſed, that Sir John Banks, Mr. Pepys, and Mr. De Puy, knew ſomething of the murder: by his rude behaviour the woman was thrown into fits, and her life endangered; he labored hard to induce the two men who firſt found the corpſe, to lay the murder upon ſome great Roman Catholic; but tho they were both in mean circumſtances, he could not pervert their honeſty. Nor had he more ſucceſs with Francis Carrol, an honeſt common hackney coachman, whom ſome of his emiſſaries accuſed of having carried the corpſe in his coach, to the place in which it was found. This poor man was confined in Newgate near two months, loaded with irons, en-

cloſed in a dungeon, the noiſomeneſs of which was contagious, and actually kept from Thurſday to Sunday without victuals, in ſuch miſery, that he begged hard for a knife to end a wretched life, which he ſaid he would rather forfeit than ſtain his ſoul with perjury. He was at length diſmiſſed, after having given proofs of integrity, that would have done honor to the moſt refined underſtanding.

The inconſiſtencies and contradictions of the witneſſes, who pretended to know the circumſtances of Sir Godfrey's death, ſufficiently acquit the different perſons who ſuffered upon their teſtimony. Perhaps he was diſpatched in reality by ſome zealous Papiſt, who feared that Oates's information might be prejudicial to the Catholic intereſt, and that the juſtice might be hereafter ſummoned as a ſecondary evidence; or may be, it was perpetrated by the contrivers and inventors of the Popiſh plot, to throw the greater odium on the court, and the party they meant to ruin: if ſo, they ſucceeded to admiration.

" Sir Edmondbury Godfrey was a man of a very good charac-
" ter, of a reſerved melancholy turn of mind, an enemy to all
" perſecution, and rather a protector than proſecutor of Noncon-
" formiſts. He had, with reluctance, received Oates's informa-
" tion. As to the report that prevailed of his having been mur-
" dered by the Papiſts, becauſe their violent enemy, it was with-
" out any manner of foundation, for he was upon good terms
" with the party in general. It has been affirmed, that he hanged
" himſelf in his own houſe, and that his two brothers, who were
" his next heirs, had the body conveyed abroad, and the ſword
" run thro it, that ſo it might be thought he was aſſaſſinated, and
" the crown thereby prevented from ſeizing on his effects."

Burnet, Echard, Smollett.

In terms as coarſe as Samuel us'd to Saul.

After the prophet had anointed Saul King of Iſrael, he commanded him to go down to Gilgal, and there wait for him ſeven days; at the end of which time he promiſed to come and aſſiſt him in ſacrificing to the Lord. But Samuel not coming ſo ſoon as Saul expected, he proceeded to the offerings by himſelf; and had ſcarcely made an end, when the prophet appeared, and checked him in very ſevere terms, for having tranſgreſſed his order, and thereby diſpleaſed the Lord. *Thou haſt done fooliſhly*, ſaid he, *thy kingdom ſhall not continue, becauſe thou haſt not kept that which the Lord commanded thee.* Sam. B. I. ch. xiii. v. 13, 14, &c.

The admiring croud are dazzled with surprize,
And on his goodly person feed their eyes.

Here the poet describes the tour taken by the Duke of Monmouth after his return from Holland, without the king's leave, and with the advice of Shaftesbury, to whose councils he had fatally resigned himself. This progress, he justly observes, tho couched under the notion of its being made for hunting, and the diversions of the country, was, in reality, to try how the people stood affected; whether the suspicions against the queen and the Duke of York were sufficiently inculcated, to give Monmouth an opportunity of mounting the throne, in case of the king's death; and his ambition he disguised under the specious pretences of his being the king's lawful son, whose right was suppressed to make way for an uncle's usurpation; of his being the avowed champion of the Protestant religion, and the only one of the royal family, who had the courage openly to declare himself an enemy to Popery and slavery.

With regard to the make and outward graces of Monmouth's person (says Grammont) nature never formed a man more complete. Every feature of his face had a peculiar delicacy, and altogether exhibited a countenance beautiful, without effeminacy, manly, yet not robust. His body was finely formed; he was extremely agile, fenced admirably, and was one of the best horsemen of his time; but he had a soul very unequal to such a tenement. He had no sentiments of his own; his voice was pleasing; his manner of expressing himself captivating; but these accomplishments were used only to deliver the thoughts and words of other people. He was rash in his undertakings; irresolute and uncertain in the execution; abject and cowering in distress: he begged his life of James II. with tears in his eyes. That monarch treated his sorrow slightly; the queen insulted it. When he found he had no hopes of life, he assumed an air of philosophic calmness, and met death with indifference. He was brave in the field, felt for the distresses of humanity, was kind to his inferiors, and naturally very generous. With these virtues he might have proved a friend to his country, and a pillar of the throne, had fortune thrown him into the hands of honest men; for his ruin was owing to his connections, not to himself.

But hospitable treats did most commend
Wise Issachar, his wealthy western friend.

Issachar, the celebrated Thomas Thynne, Esq; commonly called Tom of Ten-Thousand, alluding to his wealth. He had been formerly a favorite with the Duke of York, but had now changed

ſides, and openly declared againſt him. He received Monmouth at his country ſeat with prodigious ſplendor, entertaining him and all his train with true Britiſh hoſpitality. King Charles having prorogued the parliament in 1679, to prevent their further proceeding againſt his brother, whoſe intereſt was therein oppoſed with great heat and animoſity, Mr. Thynne was one of thoſe who petitioned the king for its meeting as ſoon as poſſible, who anſwered him very angrily, and bade him meddle with his own matters. He was ſoon after ſhot in his coach, as he paſſed thro Pall-mall, by ſome perſons hired by Count Coningſmark, a German nobleman, that had made pretenſions to the ſole heireſs of the Earl of Northumberland, to whom Mr. Thynne had been lately married.

Oh! fooliſh Iſrael, never warn'd by ill.

Here follow ſome arguments in defence of kingly government, which are ſaid to be very ſtrong, and have been much admired.

Barzillai crown'd with honor and with years.

Barzillai, James Butler, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Ormond, Earl of Oſſory and Brecknock, &c. a duke both in England and Ireland. In his younger days

——— *the riſing rebels he withſtood,*
In regions waſte beyond the Jordan's flood.

And adhered zealouſly to the intereſt of his ſovereign Charles I. in Ireland, where, being chief of a noble, antient, and wealthy family, his power and influence were, as long as poſſible, exerted againſt the arms of Cromwell. But being at length obliged to yield to the neceſſity of the times, he quitted that kingdom, and accompanied King Charles II. in his exile. After the reſtoration, he was at one and the ſame time lord-lieutenant of Ireland, ſteward of the houſhold, groom of the ſtole, and privy-counſellor for the three kingdoms. Perhaps no man was ever better beloved, and no man deſerved it better: he was liberal, brave, loyal, and ſincere; a friend to the conſtitution, and a protector of the Proteſtants. On this account he was no favorite in the ſucceeding reign, and died in retirement, without poſt or employment, July 1688, aged ſeventy-nine.

His eldeſt hope with every grace adorn'd.

Thomas Earl of Oſſory, Baron Butler of More-Park by writ, eldeſt ſon of the aforeſaid duke, and one of the moſt gallant no-

noblemen of his time. He behaved with great bravery in the firſt Dutch war, under Sir Edward Spragg; and in the ſecond was rear-admiral of the blue. He was a courageous warrior, a prudent counſellor, a dutiful ſon, a kind friend, a liberal patron, and a generous man. He died univerſally lamented in 1680.

Thy force infus'd the fainting Tyrian's propp'd,
And haughty Pharaoh found his fortune ſtopp'd.

Lord Oſſory having married a Dutch lady, lived ſome time in Holland, and was of ſignal ſervice in preventing the progreſs of the French arms, by his knowledge and advice.

Zadoch the prieſt, &c.

Dr. Sancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, at the time of the revolution, refuſing to take the oaths, was ſuperſeded by the famous Dr. Tillotſon, and died in 1693. Burnet tells us, that he was ſolemn in deportment, peeviſh in temper, cold in the pulpit, and reſerved in company; but on the other hand, he was very learned, extremely loyal, and thought of ſome conſequence among the Tories. He was advanced from the deanery of St. Paul's, thro the intereſt of the Duke of York, who liked him from his being attached to ſome monaſtic inſtitutions, ſuch as the celibacy of the clergy; and from his being of an abſtracted ſedentary turn, which would prevent him from oppoſing the deſigns conceived by his royal highneſs againſt the eſtabliſhed church, which it was certainly his intention to overturn.

——— *the Sagan of Jeruſalem,*
Of hoſpitable ſoul, and noble ſtem.

Dr. Henry Compton, youngeſt ſon to the Earl of Northampton, was preferred to the ſee of London, upon the death of Dr. Humphry Henchman, in the year 1675. He had carried arms in his younger years; and when he quitted the ſword for the caſſock, was upwards of thirty years old. He was a weak poſitive man, but good-natured and generous, entirely devoted to the ſervice of the Earl of Danby; not very learned, but a ſtrong Proteſtant, a violent oppoſer of the Papiſts, a careful biſhop, and tho but upon indifferent terms with the Duke of York, a loyal ſubject. To him was, for ſome time, given the care of the two princeſſes, Mary and Ann, in whom he grounded the principles of the Proteſtant religion. In King James the IId's time he was ſuſpended, *ab officio*, for refuſing to ſilence Dr. Sharp, who had preached a ſermon not approved by the court.

Him of the weſtern dome.

Dr. Dolben, Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dean of Weſtminſter, an eaſy, good-natured, modeſt, ſpirited, eloquent, and learned man. In 1683 he was raiſed to the ſee of York: he bore arms againſt the parliament in King Charles the IIſt's reign, who made him a major. When that monarch's affairs were ruined, he returned to Oxford, purſued his ſtudies, and entered into orders.

Sharp judging Adriel, the muſe's friend,
Himſelf a muſe———————

John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, &c. a good ſoldier, an able miniſter, an elegant writer, a nobleman of beautiful perſon and fine addreſs. He ſerved with great reputation, as a volunteer, in the firſt and ſecond Dutch wars; was promoted to the command of a ſecond-rate ſhip of war, and ſoon after quitted the ſea for the land-ſervice, being made colonel of a regiment, and knight of the garter. He offered to head a body of troops ſent to defend Tangier, then beſieged by the Moors, and was ſaid to have been purpoſely put on board a leaky veſſel, that was ſuppoſed unable to go thro the voyage, becauſe he had the boldneſs to aſpire at courting Lady Anne, afterwards Queen of England. King Charles was thought privy to the contrivance, which, if true, was a piece of mean revenge, unworthy of a monarch. Tho his lordſhip was informed of the danger, he ſcorned to decline it, but happily made the voyage in ſafety; and was brought home by Admiral Herbert in a much better veſſel. Notwithſtanding the peril to which he knew himſelf expoſed on his way to Tangier, he wrote a poem, the verſification of which was ſo eaſy, and the ſentiments ſo tender, one would rather imagine that it had been penned in the bowers of love and retirement, than on a ſtormy ſea in a rotten ſhip.

He ſerved Charles II. with fidelity and honor; oppoſing ſuch meaſures as he thought wrong, without joining with parties that ſeemed to ſtudy rather to make their king diſcontented, than their country happy. He purſued the ſame conduct in the following reign, when, being preſſed hard to profeſs the Roman Catholic religion, he ſaid, "It was with ſome difficulty he had brought himſelf to believe that God had created the "world, man, &c. but he could never perſuade himſelf, that man "had a relative power, and could make God," alluding to tranſubſtantiation. Tho he was no friend to the revolution, King William made him Marquis of Normanby, with a penſion of 3000 l. a year. Queen Anne, with whom he was in great favor, created

him Duke of Buckingham, entruſted him with ſome conſiderable employments; and he was one of her Tory miniſtry. He died in the year 1720, aged ſeventy, at Buckingham-houſe in St. James's Park, an edifice which he had erected himſelf. The front motto of it,

Sic ſiti lætantur lares,

occaſioned the following ſarcaſm:

Happily hous'd theſe lares are,
To feed on viſtoes, and freſh air;
To dine with Humfrey's duke each day,
And gaze their ſupper-time away.
Would Ceres bring her * ſheaf of corn,
'Twould better Sheffield-houſe adorn;
To which, if Bacchus grapes would bring,
Then might the lares laugh and ſing.

Pope, Prior, Lanſdown, and Roſcommon, have alſo borne teſtimony to his grace's genius, taſte, and erudition, of all which his works are a living proof. Great pains have been taken to remove from his character the imputation of avarice; but to this paſſion he was certainly a ſlave: it grew upon him with age, and led him into many mean actions. He was a ſtranger to the ties of kindred, capable of ſacrificing every thing to his private advantage, and a latitudinarian in religion. With Charles, of whoſe ſocial hours he was a ſharer, he ſcoffed at revelation; with James, whoſe weakneſs he indulged, he aſſiſted at maſs; with William, with whom he did not chuſe to break, he was a Calviniſt; and with good Queen Anne, whom he highly reſpected, he was a Proteſtant.

Jotham, of piercing wit, and pregnant thought.

Jotham, the gay, the gallant Sir George Saville, Viſcount, Earl, and Marquis of Hallifax, who, tho generally in favor with the king, had ſometimes oppoſed the meaſures of the court. He at firſt voted for the bill of excluſion, then ſided with thoſe who were for limitations, afterwards propoſed expedients, and was ſhortly after upon very good terms with the duke. He was a member of King William's firſt privy-council, but retiring upon ſome diſguſt, entered into all the Tory meaſures. He had great vivacity, a ready wit, a ſarcaſtic turn, more imagination than judgment, more genius than application, and yet was uneaſy out of

* His grace's arms.

employment. He preferred a jeſt to every conſideration, and rather than loſe one that occurred, would turn his own arguments into ridicule. He was ſociable, friendly, and good-natured, but unſteady. Some maxims, and a character of Charles II. written by him, were publiſhed three or four years ago, and met with general approbation. He affected to deſpiſe titles, yet was fond of them, and left a very large fortune to his family.

Huſhai, the friend of David, in diſtreſs.

Laurence Hyde, ſecond ſon to Edward the great Earl of Clarendon, was advanced to the earldom of Rocheſter, and made treaſurer in 1682, but removed from the treaſury in 1684, to the office of preſident of the council, a poſt of more rank but leſs advantage, which gave the lively Marquis of Halifax occaſion to ſay, that "he "had heard of many people being kicked down ſtairs, but the Earl "of Rocheſter was the firſt he had ever known kicked up." He was incorrupt, ſincere, warm, and violent; writ well, but not a graceful ſpeaker, tho ſmooth and plauſible. He defended his father in the houſe of commons with ſtrength of argument, and power of elocution, that ſhewed him maſter of great abilities; and yet with ſo much decency and diſcretion, as not to embroil himſelf with his opponents. Thro the whole of King Charles's reign, he deported himſelf with ſo much real fidelity to his maſter, and ſuch prudence, that he was not particularly pointed at, or ridiculed by any party.

By foreign treaties he inform'd his youth.

In 1676 he went on an embaſſy to Poland, was one of the plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Nimeguen, and afterwards ambaſſador in Holland, where he acquitted himſelf with honor. He was ſtrongly againſt the bill of excluſion.

——— *who can Amiel's praiſe refuſe?*

Mr. afterwards Sir Edward Seymour, was an elder branch of the Somerſet family, and grandfather to the preſent duke. He vigorouſly ſupported the Duke of York's right to the ſucceſſion, and had been formerly ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, being the boldeſt orator that ever filled the chair, and one of the proudeſt commoners in England. He was intimately acquainted with all the buſineſs of the houſe, and knew every individual member ſo exactly, that with one glance of his eye, he could prognoſticate the fate of every motion.

While he withdrawn ——— ———
—— *ſafe enjoys the ſabbath of his toils.*

When this poem was written, Mr. Seymour had been for ſome time out of the chair, which the commons would not permit him to reſign, tho he earneſtly deſired it on account of his health, and the king declared, that he had other employments for him, in which nobody could be more uſeful; ſo that the parliament was prorogued; and when they met again, which was in two days, they agreed to nominate Mr. Serjeant Gregory their ſpeaker.

Their witneſſes againſt themſelves will ſwear.

Alluding to the inconſiſtencies and contradictions of Dr. Oates, Capt. Bedloe, and other witneſſes, made uſe of to ſupport the credit of the Popiſh plot.

The SECOND PART of

ABSALOM and ACHITOPHEL,

Partly written by Mr. TATE.

AS Mr. Dryden not only ſuperviſed, but alſo wrote ſome of this ſecond part of Abſalom and Achitophel; and as the whole together forms an Epic poem, giving an account of the diviſions, both in court and city, from 1678 to 1682, in which year this was firſt publiſhed in folio, it has been thought proper to here reprint it. Tho Dryden compoſed not the whole, yet there are marks of his correction ſcattered every where thro it, and thoſe who will be at the pains to compare it with Tate's other writings, will not heſitate to agree with us, when we ſay it is far beyond any of them.

Michal ——— ——— ——— ———
The beſt of queens, and moſt obedient wife,
Impeach'd of curs'd deſigns on David's life.

Michal, Queen Catharine, wife to King Charles II. Her being a Papiſt was ſufficient to expoſe her to Oates and his confederates, who accuſed her of having entered into a conſpiracy againſt her huſband's life, at the inſtigation of the Popiſh clergy: however,

King Charles treated their teſtimony upon this point with the contempt it deſerved, and ſwore by his Maker, none of their arts or perjuries ſhould give her any uneaſineſs. Had he not here exerted unſhaken reſolution, they would have abſolutely brought her to the bar, and, not improbably, taken away her life. There was no villainy to which they were unequal. The queen was finely ſhaped, but not very handſome; her deportment was majeſtic, her addreſs eaſy. She was good-natured, affable, and lively: her converſation was pleaſing, and her judgment ſtrong.

Mean while a guard on modeſt Corah wait.

See our note upon Corah.

'Twas worſe than plotting to ſuſpect his plot.

The tide of prejudice ran ſo ſtrongly in favor of Oates and the other witneſſes, after the death of Sir Godfrey, that to ſpeak ſlightingly of them, or their depoſition, was as much as a man's life was worth; and even the king himſelf, who ſaw the trick from the beginning, did not dare to ſpeak his ſentiments freely. He did his utmoſt to keep as private as poſſible ſuch diſcoveries of the ſuppoſed plot, as were communicated to him, the intention of which his perſpicuity ſoon canvaſſed; and he was very angry when Lord Danby, without his leave, laid them before the parliament; "Now, (ſaid he) you have laid the foundation of your "own ruin; and of much perplexity for me." The ſequel proved his majeſty a prophet.

He at your inſtance quaſh'd each penal law.

Suſpending the penal laws, and granting liberty of conſcience, was owing to the advice of our Achitophel; and was an affair of dangerous tendency, as being one great ſtep towards enſlaving the ſtate. Thro his counſel alſo the king

———————*ſhut the royal ſtore,*

Or the exchequer, in the beginning of 1672, he being in great want of money: a tranſaction that occaſioned much confuſion, for there being thereby a ſtagnation of all public payments, the banks alſo ſtopped; but the king having aſſured the bankers and merchants, that the preſent deficiencies ſhould be ſoon made good, matters flowed again in their proper channel; tho it was a ſtretch of power not eaſily forgotten or digeſted. The reſt of this ſpeech has been before ſufficiently explained.

Aſſociations

Associations of mysterious sense.

This passage is explained in our note on the Medal.

——— *extorting Ishban first appears,*
Pursu'd by a meagre band of bankrupt heirs.

Sir Robert Clayton, an alderman of the city, and one of its members, who remarkably opposed the court. Tho he was very avaritious, he had offered a large sum to be made a peer; and those who consider the king's wants will believe with me, he was sorry the alderman's money was not tangible.

——— *railing Rabsheka.*

Sir Thomas Player, one of the city representatives in parliament; a factious blundering malecontent; one of the chief supports of the Whigs in the city; declared enemy of the Duke of York, and strongly for the bill of exclusion. When he was rechosen in 1680-1, together with Sir Robert Clayton, Thomas Pilkington, and William Love, Esqrs. many of the Whig citizens, in Common-hall assembled, drew up and presented to him and them an extraordinary paper, "giving them thanks for their "former good services; more especially for their zeal in pro- "moting the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the suc- "cession, and recommending, that they would still literally pur- "sue the same measures, and grant no supplies to the crown, till "they saw themselves effectually secured from Popery and arbi- "trary power." And in pursuit of these measures, the subscribing persons promised to stand by them with their lives and fortunes.

Indeed, addresses of the same nature were forwarded to their representatives from many other parts of the kingdom, which gave great uneasiness to the court, and occasioned these lines put into Achitophel's mouth, p. 209.

——— *what can David's self without supplies?*
Who with exclusive bills must now dispense,
Debar the heir, or starve in his defence.

Shall that vile Hebronite escape our curse.

Robert Ferguson, a Scotch independent preacher, subtle, plausible, bold, and daring; had for many years preached and writ against the government with great animosity; had weight among the Whigs in the city, and was a very proper instrument to stir up sedition. Shaftesbury knew his excellencies, made use of them by

confiding in him, and he contributed much to the ſucceſs of his deſigns.

Ferguſon was one of the main ſprings that animated the Rye-houſe-plot, for which he was outlawed both in England and France, a reward of five hundred piſtoles being offered for taking him. He had openly approved of the conſpirators' intention to murder the king and his brother; and a day being appointed for that parricide, which ſome of the aſſaſſins objected to as being Sunday, he told them, "The ſanctity of the deed fitted the "ſanctity of the day." He was deſcribed thus remarkably: "A "tall thin man, dark brown hair, a great Roman noſe, thin "jawed, heat in his face, ſpeaks in the Scotch tone, a ſharp "piercing eye, ſtoops a little in the ſhoulders, hath a ſhuffling "gate that differs from all men, wears his perriwig down al-"moſt over his eyes, and about forty-five years of age." He eſcaped to Holland, returned with Monmouth in 1685, had the good luck again to ſecure his retreat, and was rewarded with a good poſt on the revolution: but being of a turbulent uneaſy diſpoſition, he turned tail, became a ſtrenuous advocate for Jacobitiſm both in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne; appeared more than once a champion for the baniſhed king, and engaged in ſchemes for his reſtoration.

Who at Jeruſalem's own gates erects
His college for a nurſery of ſects.

Ferguſon had a chapel near Moorfields, in which he preached to as great multitudes as now follow Whitefield.

Let Hebron, nay, let hell produce a man,
So made for miſchief, as Ben Jochanan.

Ben Jochanan, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Johnſon, chaplain to the Earl of Bedford. No ſooner was he entered into that nobleman's family, than he became a violent declaimer in the pulpit, againſt the fears of Popery and the Duke of York; between whom and Julian the apoſtate, he drew an artful parallel, under the name of the life of the latter. This book made a great noiſe; the author was tried for it, as being a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel, for which he was ſentenced to pay five hundred marks, and to find ſureties for his good behaviour, during the ſpace of one year.

In the following reign he was tried for having endeavored to alienate the affections of the ſoldiery, and inflame the minds of the king's ſubjects againſt him, in a looſe ſheet of paper, called An Addreſs to the Proteſtants in King James's Army, carefully diſperſed abroad; for which he was condemned to ſtand three

times in the pillory, to pay five hundred marks, and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. Before his punishment he was degraded from his ecclesiastical functions in the chapter-house of St. Paul's; and the latter part of his sentence was mildly inflicted. He was a man of undaunted spirit, violent in party, and zealously attached to the Protestant religion. He was a good scholar, well versed in the oriental languages, an excellent divine; his morals were pure, his talents lively, and he led a very sober life.

Doeg, tho without knowing how, or why,
Made still a blundering kind of melody;
Spurr'd boldly on, and dash'd thro thick and thin,
Thro sense and nonsense, neither out nor in.

Doeg, a character intended for Mr. Elkanah Settle, called the City-Poet, because he had a salary for writing a poem, annually, on my lord-mayor's day. He was bred at Oxford, tho his parentage was but mean, and having a knack for dramatic writing, produced some plays with success, which many critics say, shew him worthy of the extraordinary picture here drawn of him. However, he had incurred Mr. Dryden's displeasure by writing for the Whigs, in whose service he was very zealous, having published a pamphlet against the Duke of York, called The Character of a Popish Successor; and answered both Mr. Dryden's Absalom, and his Medal. Finding that he did not get so much by this party as he expected, he abjured their principles, and professed himself, both in writing and discourse, a Tory, with as little success as he had met with when a Whig. His circumstances, in the latter part of his life, were but indifferent; for almost his only maintenance was, annually, writing drolls for Bartholomew and Southwark fairs, and contriving the machinery. Pope says, he exhibited at these places in a green dragon of his own contriving. *See the Dunciad*, B. III.

Og, from a treason-tavern rolling home.

Og, Thomas Shadwell, Esq; of whom we shall speak in our notes upon Mac-Flecknoe.

But in the sacred annals of our plot,
Industrious Arod never be forgot.

Arod, Sir William Waller, son to him who had done so much service to the long parliament. He upheld the exclusion-bill with all his might, and took every opportunity of shewing his hatred

to Popery, by seeking out and dispersing the Papists, when assembled to celebrate divine service in their way. To which, if he was not much misrepresented, he was stimulated rather in hopes of spoil, their altars being generally rich, than out of respect to his country, or love for religion.

——— *all to be no Zaken at the last.*

At the chusing a new parliament in the beginning of the year 1679, Sir William had, to no purpose, endeavored to get himself chosen into the house; and the publicans, who trusted him at this time in such entertainments as he ordered, found it difficult to get their money from him.

Now rais'd on Tyre's sad ruins, Pharaoh's pride
Soar'd high.

The success of Lewis the XIV's arms, particularly in Holland, rendered him formidable all over Europe; while England, who has it so much in her power to command respect, was scarcely regarded. Weakened by domestic disputes, her king always wanting money, and opposed and kept bare by her parliament, her mediation was of no consequence, and she had little or no influence abroad.

His absence David does with tears advise.

This alludes to the Duke of York's quitting the court, and retiring to Brussels, and afterwards to Scotland.

——— *nobly has his sway in Hebron shone.*

When the Duke of York returned from Scotland, in the beginning of 1682, the murmurs against him seemed to have, in a good measure, subsided, He had shewn himself so well inclined to support the reformed religion in that kingdom, that he was thanked for it by seven bishops, in an address which was published, to the satisfaction of all ranks of people; and the citizens of London, particularly, treated him on that account with vast respect.

——— *Jothran always bent*
To serve the crown, and loyal by descent.

Jothran, the Lord Dartmouth, a nobleman of great honesty, who, tho inviolably attached to the Duke of York, had always the courage to tell him freely when he disliked any of his proceedings; and his highness was discreet enough to take his representations as they were meant.

Nor can Benaiah's worth forgotten lie.

Benaiah, Colonel, afterwards General Sackville, a gentleman of tried courage, and known good ſenſe: he was of the Dorſet family; had ſerved at Tangier with reputation; and on account of his having expreſſed a diſbelief of the Popiſh plot, was expelled the houſe of commons, and committed to the Tower. He obtained his liberty, rank, and command, in a very ſhort time, but not his ſeat in the houſe.

——— *Achitophel*
Who, how an envious feſtival enſtals,
And to ſurvey their ſtrength the faction calls.

The Duke of York being invited to dine at Merchant Taylor's Hall with the company of artillery, of which he was captain-general, on April 21, 1682, tickets were diſperſed in oppoſition to, and contempt of, this meeting; inviting the nobility, gentry, and citizens, who wiſhed well to the Proteſtant religion, to convene the ſame day at St. Michael's church, Cornhill, and thence proceed to dine at Haberdaſhers-Hall: but this aſſociation was ſtopped by an order of council.

——— *lo! the royal mandate iſſues forth.*

The ſubſtance of which was, that the power of appointing public days of faſts and thankſgivings being veſted in the crown, a particular meeting, pretended to that end, and advertiſed to be held on the 21ſt of April, 1682, at St. Michael's, Cornhill, muſt be of a ſeditious tendency, as not having the royal ſanction; and therefore the lord-mayor and aldermen of London are, at their peril, ordered to hinder it, as an unlawful aſſembly.

Firſt write Bezalial ——————

Bezalial, the Marquis of Worceſter, created Duke of Beaufort in 1682, a nobleman of great worth and honor, who had always taken part with the king, aud one of thoſe, whom the commons in 1680, prayed his majeſty to remove from about his perſon, as being a favorer of Popery.

See all his glories copied in his ſon.

Charles Somerſet, Lord Herbert of Ragland in Monmouthſhire, who, according to Wood, was entered of Chriſt church, Oxford, and took his degree as a maſter of arts in 1681.

Abdael, with all his father's virtues grac'd.

Abdael, the Duke of Albemarle, ſon to the brave General Monk, and preſident of Wales. He was liberal and loyal, and a leading man among the friends of the king and the duke, on which account he was ſeverely ſtigmatized by the Whig writers. In 1687 he was ſent abroad governor of Jamaica, where he died.

—— *hard the taſk to do Eliab right.*

Eliab, Sir Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, had ſhared in the king's baniſhment; and in the beginning of this reign was his reſident in Spain: from whence returning in 1662, he was made ſecretary of ſtate, and became a member of the cabal. He was a man of moderate capacity, neither remarkable for virtue or vice; he always meant well, but wanted integrity, or reſolution, to oppoſe the advice of his colleagues, tho he knew it wrong. He had acquired an air of gravity in Spain that did not ſit eaſy upon him; and it was rendered, ſome meaſure, ridiculous, by a black patch which covered a ſcar on his noſe. The king owed his converſion to Popery, when abroad, to his influence, for which Lord Colpepper threatened him ſeverely; and Bennet, who was not the moſt daring man alive, remained abroad till that nobleman's death. It might have been by chance, but he had enemies who called it fear. He was proud, ſlow, but ſolid, and had the art of humoring the king better than any body. He ſaw the ill conſequence of his majeſty's favoring Popery after the reſtoration, and, during his adminiſtration, made the oppoſing it a maxim; yet he had been formerly of that religion, and was reconciled to it on his death-bed.

Well claimed the royal houſhold for his care.

The Earl of Arlington was now a knight of the garter, and ſteward of the houſhold, which poſt he enjoyed in the ſucceeding reign a ſhort time, dying in 1685.

His age with only one mild heireſs bleſt,
——————*young Othriel's bride.*

Othriel, Henry Duke of Grafton, one of the king's natural ſons, begotten upon the body of the Dutcheſs of Cleveland. She was averſe to his marrying Lord Arlington's daughter, tho a conſiderable heireſs. I have ſeen a letter from her to lord-treaſurer Danby, dated from Paris, (I think in 1675) thanking him for his care in endeavoring to prevent this match. It is in her own hand-writing.

This Duke of Grafton ſoon joined the Prince of Orange at the revolution, and was killed at the ſiege of Cork, in the year 1690. He had great natural bravery, was very ſincere, but rough as the ſea, of which he was fond, and whereon, had he lived, he promiſed to make a gallant figure.

Even envy muſt conſent to Helon's worth.

Helon, the Earl of Feverſham, a Frenchman by birth, and nephew to Mareſchal Turenne: he was honeſt, brave, and good-natured, but precipitate and injudicious.

To ſlight his gods was ſmall; with nobler pride,
He all th' allurements of his court defy'd.

His lordſhip profeſſed himſelf a Proteſtant, tho Burnet ſays there was reaſon to ſuſpect his ſincerity. Affection for King Charles II. who really eſteemed him, made him prefer England to his own country, where he had great intereſt, and might have expected to be nobly provided for.

Our liſt of nobles next let Amri grace.

Amri, Sir Heneage Finch, conſtituted lord-keeper of the great ſeal, on Shafteſbury's diſmiſſion, and ſoon after advanced to a peerage and the chancellorſhip. He was a zealous Proteſtant, and yet conducted himſelf with ſuch ſteadineſs and integrity, as to give offence to no party; which was a little ſurpriſing, as he held this important ſtation at a time, when party-feuds raged with unlicenced fury. His abilities were very great; he was judicious, eloquent, and induſtrious, an able lawyer, and a ſtateſman, endued with ſtrong veracity and inflexible integrity.

Than Sheva, none more loyal zeal have ſhewn,
Wakeful as Judah's lion for the crown.

Sheva, Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, a ſtrong champion for the Tories many years, known not only by the Obſervator, publiſhed twice a week, and mentioned by us before, but by many other pamphlets and books, a liſt of which may be found in the General Dictionary.

He was deſcended of a very good family in Norfolk, and early in arms for King Charles I. when being taken priſoner by the parliament, he was condemned to be hanged, but luckily eſcaped, and was knighted for his writings by James II. His ſtile was mean and crabbed, his humor low, but he was maſter of ſome argument.

Still Hebron's honor'd happy ſoil retains,
Our royal heroes beauteous dear remains, &c.

The duke ſeeming to have now got the better of his enemies, the Popiſh plot having loſt its credit, and the fears of Popery greatly ſubſided, he embarked for Scotland in the Gloſter yatch on the 3d of May, to bring up his family; but here

A bitter grief muſt poiſon half his joy.

For early in the morning on the 5th, ſhe ſtruck upon a ſand-bank, and ſoon went to the bottom, carrying with her one hundred and thirty ſtout men, ſeveral young people of quality, and many of the duke's ſervants, who

With loud laſt breath their maſter's 'ſcape applaud.

For ſo well was he beloved, that it is ſaid, even when they ſaw themſelves ſinking without hope of relief, they expreſſed their joy at beholding their maſter ſafe. And he was highly complimented for his reſolution, calmneſs, and humanity, on this melancholy occaſion, in which he ſeemed leſs ſolicitous for himſelf than any other perſon.

See where the princely bark in looſeſt pride,
With all her guardian fleet adorns the tide,
High on her deck the royal lovers ſtand, &c.

Having ſettled the government of Scotland, the Duke of York, with his dutcheſs and houſhold, returned to England, arriving ſafely in the Gun-fleet on the 26th of May. They were met at Erif by the king and court, whom they accompanied by water to Whitehall, being ſaluted, as they came up, by the Tower guns, and by all the ſhips in the river. From Whitehall they went to Arlington-houſe in the Park, where they were ſumptuouſly entertained; and his royal highneſs received the congratulations of the city on his happy eſcape and return, and London and Weſtminſter blazed with bonfires, and ecchoed with rejoicing for this happy event.

This year did Ziloah rule Jeruſalem.

Sir John Moor, a Tory, was lord-mayor of London in 1682: his ſheriffs were Thomas Pilkington, Eſq; one of the members for the city, and Mr. Samuel Shute, both ſtaunch Whigs. But the year following, the city was entirely governed by perſons agreeable to the court, viz. Sir William Pritchard, lord-mayor, Dudley North, and Francis Rich, Eſqrs. ſheriffs, tho they did not carry their elections without great oppoſition.

THE MEDAL.

A Satire againſt Sedition.

SHAFTESBURY had, for ſome time paſt, harraſſed the king with implacable malice, whereby his majeſty's reſentment was ſo much heightened, that it was reſolved, either by fair or foul means, to take him off. No ſums were ſpared in ſeeking to procure and ſuborn ſufficient evidences againſt this nobleman, to prove high-treaſon upon him, and bring him to the ſcaffold. It was practiſing his own arts upon him. A bill of indictment was exhibited againſt him at the Old Baily, on the 24th of November, 1681; the lord mayor, the court of aldermen, and all the judges attending. The witneſſes were examined in open court, and ſwore to ſuch incredible circumſtances, as muſt have invalidated their teſtimony, tho they had not been already branded as perjured villains. One of the ſtrongeſt proofs againſt his lordſhip was a draught of an aſſociation * found among his papers, which might be conſtrued into treaſon, the general purport of it being "to lay the king under ſuch reſtrictions as ſhould reduce "him to a cypher; and not only to exclude the Duke of York "from the ſucceſſion, but aſſerting his title to be pretended; and "propoſing to purſue him even to death, when he returned to "England, in caſe he perſiſted to make that title good."

This aſſociation was not in his hand-writing; neither could it be proved, that he had ever communicated the ſcheme to any body, or approved of any project of the like nature. However, it was happy for his lordſhip, that the two ſheriffs were entirely in the Whig intereſt. Theſe were Shute and Pilkington, who took care to pack a proper jury, and they returned the bill *ignoramus:* a circumſtance ſo agreeable to the multitude did not paſs without prodigious acclamations; the city rung with rejoicing, and, to perpetuate the memory of it, a medal was caſt, with Lord Shafteſbury's head on one ſide. It was anſwered by Settle, under the title of *The Medal reverſed.* I have another anſwer to it by me, printed in folio in 1682, called *The loyal Medal vindicated*; it is a ſpiritleſs poor performance, and the author of it, to uſe Dryden's words, p. 257 of this volume, "proves himſelf a diſſenter "in poetry, from ſenſe and Engliſh."

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* See the top of page lxv.

EPISTLE to the WHIGS.

IN answer to this piece, the author of the *Loyal Medal Vindicated*, has presented us with an *Epistle to the Tories*, whom he terms *disloyal*; but will not allow the denomination of *Tory* to Dryden, whose political genius he imagines, it is impossible to appropriate more to King Charles than to Cromwell.

No Protestant plot, &c.

A folio pamphlet with this title, vindicating Lord Shaftesbury from being concerned in any plotting design against the king, was published in two parts, the first in 1681, the second, in 1682. Wood says, that the general report was, that they were written by the earl himself, or that, at least, he found the materials; and his servant, who put it into the printer's hands, was committed to prison.

The third part of your no Protestant plot is stolen from your dead author's growth of Popery, &c.

This third part, printed in quarto, was supposed to be written by Ferguson, under my lord's eye. It reflects on the proceedings against him in the points of high treason, whereof he stood accused; and strives to depreciate the characters of the witnesses, by painting them in the most odious colors. The *Growth of Popery* was written by Mr. Marvel, who published it a little before his death, which happened in 1678. A second part of it was written by Mr. Ferguson abovementioned; for which, and other seditious practices, his body was demanded of the States of Holland, he being then at Brill, but refused; tho Sir Thomas Armstrong had been given up by them a little before. This is the same man who was concerned in the Ryehouse-plot; and it is remarkable, that when the secretary of state was giving out orders for the seizing the rest of the conspirators, he privately bade the messenger to let Ferguson escape.

——— *you would fain be nibbling at a parallel between this association, and that in the time of Queen Elizabeth.*

When England, in the sixteenth century, was supposed in danger from the designs of Spain, the principal people, with the Queen at their head, entered into an association for the defence of their country, and of the Protestant religion, against Popery, invasion, and innovation.

Therefore you do well to have recourse to your last evasion, &c.

The friends of the Earl of Shaftesbury insinuated every where, that the draught of that association which was said to be found among his papers, was put there by the person who seized them, to advance the credit of the Tories, and give greater weight to the court charge.

——— *the brother of Achitophel out of service.*

George Cooper, Esq; brother to the Earl of Shaftesbury, was married to a daughter of Alderman Oldfield; and, being settled in the city, became a great man among the Whigs and Fanatics.

The MEDAL.

Thus fram'd for ill, he loos'd the triple hold.

OUR breaking the alliance with Holland and Sweden, was owing to the Earl of Shaftesbury's advice, as well as the shutting up the exchequer, and the tolerating of liberty of conscience. Measures extremely unpopular.

But when this fatal counsel, found too late
Expos'd its author to the public hate,
——————— *he shifts his sail.*

It would be doing great injustice to the memory of Lord Shaftesbury, if we did not give an abstract of the reasons of his sudden defection from the king's party.

His lordship had gone heartily into the design of the restoration, and afterwards zealously promoted all the court-measures; many of which, particularly the three just mentioned, were very much opposed by the parliament, to whom, however, he faithfully promised to make them agreeable, provided his majesty would stand by him with resolution, and wait with patience the effect of his machinations. The king assured him that he would; but being wearied out by the obstinance of the commons, who, before they granted the supplies, insisted upon a redress of grievances, among which was numbered the declaration for indulgence, he promised them that every thing they desired should be complied with. This resolution was spontaneous; it threatened the ministers, by whose advice he had acted. Shaftesbury saw this; he was convinced that he had been laboring for a monarch, who wanted resolution to support himself; and therefore it was

not to be ſuppoſed he would ſhelter his miniſters: beſides, he had broke his royal word, and for that reaſon was not to be relied upon. Shaftesbury had alſo introduced a new cuſtom with regard to the electing members, whereby the court had it more than ever in its power to chuſe thoſe that were moſt in its intereſt. This method was voted illegal, and ſtill hung over the head of the chancellor; ſo that, to ſecure his own ſafety, which he found had no protector but himſelf, he changed ſides all at once. The king's reſolution to recal his declaration was not made till late at night; nor was it till after, that Shaftesbury laid down to himſelf a plan of proceeding. The very next morning the man, who had ſo lately intereſted himſelf in every point that the king wanted to carry; who had with ſo much emotion and eloquence voted for the deſtruction of Holland, *delenda eſt Carthago*; this very man appeared at the head of the oppoſite party, inveighing againſt Popery and arbitrary power, the war with Holland, which he had before ſo ſtrongly recommended, and the alliance with France. The court was aſtoniſhed at ſo ſudden a change, and the majority of the parliament was infinitely pleaſed. Impartiality will certainly allow, that Lord Shaftesbury had reaſon for acting thus: we have taken a view of the reſt of his conduct in other places, and leave the reader to form his own judgment upon the whole.

The head is loyal, which thy heart commands;
But what's a head with two ſuch gouty hands.

Alluding to the lord-mayor and the two ſheriffs: the former Sir John Moor, being a Tory; the latter Shute and Pilkington, Fanatics and Whigs.

PREFACE to the RELIGIO LAICI.

I have written perhaps too boldly on St. Athanaſius, &c.

ST. Athanaſius lived in the fourth century: he was patriarch of Alexandria; his life was a continual warfare with the Arians, and other heretics. To ſecure himſelf from their rage, he ſpent ſix years in the boſom of a deſert. It would be impertinent here to recite his creed: it is ſufficiently known to all chriſtians, as well as the many violent diſputes it has occaſioned, which are even at this day kept on foot with great animoſity.

Arius diſſented from the Catholic church, in his manner of explaining the doctrine of the Trinity. He boldly avowed his principles in the midſt of the firſt general council held at Nice, con-

fifting of three hundred and eighteen bifhops. He held, that *God the Son was inferior to God the Father, as not having exifted from eternity: that God the Father had not been always God the Father, becaufe, at a certain time, he had created God the Son: that all things being created of nothing, God the Son was created out of nothing; he was therefore the work of his Father, being by nature liable to change.* Thefe tenets were then condemned, and Arius exiled: his partizans and followers had intereft enough to procure a reverfion of this fentence: he returned under powerful protectors, and the herefy, of which he was the author, fpread with rapidity. He is faid to have died in Conftantinople, eafing nature, by voiding his inteftines.

Arius was a good fcholar, and an excellent logician; his manners mild and infinuating; his eloquence forceable and perfuafive; his deportment grave and modeft. Under a veil of piety, virtue, and zeal for religion, (fays Moreri) he concealed a violent ambition, an inordinate defire of glory: his talents enabled him not only to impofe on the weak, but alfo influenced princes to become his protectors; eccleiiaftics and prelates to adopt his opinions, and fupport them even in the pulpit.

The Socinian herefy, which adds to and explains that of Arius, was framed by Lelius Socinus, a gentleman of a noble family in Sienna. This doctrine was enlarged, improved, and publifhed about the latter end of the fixteenth century, by his nephew Fauftus, into whofe hands his papers fell. The followers of this fectary teach *the worfhipping of one God without diftinction of perfons; the Holy Ghoft they fay is only the Almighty power of God; and that Jefus Chrift had no being before the incarnation, which they allow to have been immaculate, thro the operation of that Almighty power; that Jefus Chrift is, however, the Son of God by adoption, principally becaufe a man born of a virgin; and that he is God by participation, having power both in heaven and earth.*

They deny the redemption by the Son of God, and reduce the divine miffion to Jefus Chrift's having fecured falvation to man, by teaching him fome noble truths, fupporting his doctrine by heroic examples, and fealing it with his blood.

Not to name Mariana, Bellamine, &c.

All Jefuits and controverfial writers in the Roman Catholic church.

The firft tranflation of Tyndal, &c.

William Tyndal, a zealous Lutheran, finifhed a tranflation of the New Teftament in 1527, and afterwards one of the five books of

Moſes, with prefatory expoſitions. They were publiſhed in England, but ſuppreſſed, and the ſale and reading of them prohibited, anno 1546, by an act of parliament, as being erroneous, and contributing to turn people's heads A tranſlation of the Bible made under the eye of the convocation was by the ſame act permitted to be uſed by noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants; but forbidden to *mechanics* and *huſbandmen*. The publication of it was alſo ordered to be made without any preface, comment, or expoſition.

Tyndal was put to death as an incendiary in Flanders, by ſome agents of Henry VIII. being firſt ſtrangled, and then burned.

Hackett and Copinger, &c.

Hackett was a man of ſome learning; he had much of the ſcripture by heart, and made himſelf for ſome time remarkable by preaching in an enthuſiaſtic ſtrain. In 1591 he made a great parade of ſanctity, pretended to divine inſpiration, and viſions from God. He was highly extolled by ſome Calviniſt miniſters, particularly by Copinger and Arthington, who, in Cheapſide, proclaimed him a greater prophet than Moſes, or St. John the Baptiſt; nay, that he was Chriſt himſelf come to judge the world; and that they were his aſſiſting prophets, one ſtiling himſelf the prophet of mercy, the other of judgment. Hackett was tried, convicted, and hanged, perſiſting with his laſt breath in the moſt horrid blaſphemies. Arthington publiſhed a recantation of his errors, in which he expreſſes great contrition; and Copinger ſtarved himſelf to death in priſon.

Thoſe verſes were written for an ingenious young gentleman, &c.

The ſon of the celebrated John Hambden. He was in the Ryehouſe-plot, and fined 15,000l. which was remitted at the revolution; but whether or no the tranſlation here mentioned was ever publiſhed, I cannot tell. Father Richard Simon was an oratorian prieſt, well verſed in the oriental languages: he publiſhed beſides the work here mentioned, a critical hiſtory of the New Teſtament; and a new tranſlation of it, which was cenſured by Cardinal de Noailles, archbiſhop of Paris, and oppoſed by the famous biſhop of Meaux, Boſſuet. He was reckoned an able divine, and one of the beſt critics of the laſt age.

RELIGIO LAICI.

An Epiſtle addreſſed to JOHN HAMBDEN, *Eſq;*

AS I have not hitherto taken upon me, either to point out the beauties of my author, or expatiate on his defects; to diſtinguiſh which I ſuppoſe the reader's judgment to be ſufficient, it is not to be expected, that either in my review of this poem, or the Hind and Panther, I ſhall enter the liſts as a diſputant with Dryden; or that I ſhall preſume to confirm or condemn his arguments. Such a taſk is not, I think, my duty; my inclinations do not lead me to it; and it would, moreover, engroſs more time and paper than is conſiſtent with my plan. It only remains for me to obſerve, that the author of the Religio Laici, and the author of the Hind and Panther, differ in ſeveral places, and often contradict one another: theſe paſſages we ſhall endeavor to compare, when we come to the poem laſt-mentioned.

Nor does it baulk my charity to find, &c.

Many people have thought the creed of Athanaſius ſevere: they have counted that biſhop uncharitable and enthuſiaſtic; but they ſhould remember, that to oppoſe the weight and ſubtilty of Arius, it was neceſſary for him to be warm, forceable, minute, and ſometimes harſh.

We have here a reaſonable excuſe for him; and it is not unlikely, that the paſſage was ſoftened before publication, out of compliment to the gentleman, mentioned in the preface, as adviſing it to be entirely omitted

They Junius and Tremellius may defy, &c.

Francis Junius, and Emanuel Tremellius, two Calviniſt miniſters, who, in the ſixteenth century, joined in tranſlating the Bible from Hebrew into Latin. The latter tranſlated the New Teſtament from the Syriac, and father Simon criticiſes on him in a maſterly manner. They both left weighty comments on the ſcripture.

The ART of POETRY.

THIS poem is said to be * Boileau's masterpiece, and was admired, not only for the strength and arrangement of the precepts, but also for the author's great knowledge and taste; the beauty of his versification, and usefulness of the design. His enemies accused him of having only translated Horace; and what they intended as a reflection, turns out an eulogium: for he has imitated or translated him in very few places. Mr. Pope, who was well acquainted with Boileau's merits, to whom he was sometimes obliged, speaks thus of him in his Essay on Criticism:

"But critic learning flourish'd most in France:
"The rules, a nation born to serve, obeys,
"And Boileau still in right of Horace sways."

As this translation is to be found in the fourth volume of Miscellanies, published by Tonson in Dryden's life-time, to have omitted it here would have been very unfair.

CANTO I.

Our author, in this canto, lays down general rules for poetry, which have this excellency, that they are proper also to be applied in other species of writing.

If at thy birth the stars, &c.

Poeta nascitur non fit: a genius for poetry, according to Horace, must be innate. The rule will hold good in every other art or science.

Tu nihil invita dices, facieve Minerva.
Hor. de Ar. Po. v. 385.

And well consider your own force, &c.

"Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam
"Viribus; et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
"Quid valeant, humeri." *Hor. de Ar. Po. v.* 38.

* Nicholas Boileau, Despreaux's father, was a lawyer. He himself attempted the same study, and afterwards applied himself to divinity, but was disgusted with both. Lewis XIV. who esteemed him highly, gave him many marks of his favor, and he made money of his works. His death happened at Paris, anno 1711, being then seventy-five years old.

"Be

" Be ſure yourſelf, and your own reach, to know,
" How far your genius, taſte, and learning go :
" Launch not beyond your depth, but be diſcreet."
Pope's Eſſ. on Crit.

Thus in time paſt Dubartas, &c.

Dubartas, a voluminous French author of the ſixteenth century. Among other of his works, we find that one Mr. John Sylveſter, in the reign of James I. tranſlated the following : The Six Days Work of the Creation ; praiſed by Ben Jonſon, but Dryden had a mean opinion of it. The Triumph of Faith ; the Ark ; Babylon. Theſe two are, I ſuppoſe, in this place alluded to ; Jonas, the Fathers, Eden, &c. Dubartas was a Hugonot, of a noble family ; he commanded a troop of horſe in the ſervice of the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry the Great, by whom he was entruſted with the management of his affairs at different times, in England, Scotland, and Denmark.

Always let ſenſe accompany, &c.

" 'Tis not enough no harſhneſs give offence,
" The ſound muſt ſeem an eccho to the ſenſe.
Pope's Eſſ. on Crit.

If he deſcribes a houſe, &c.

Scuderi, in his poem of Alaric, lays out above three hundred lines, in tediouſly deſcribing, in a palace,

The feſtoons, freezes, and the aſtragal.

A piece of carved work, repreſenting a wreath or garland, is called a *feſtoon.* The *freeze* ſeparates the architrave from the cornice ; and the ring at the top or bottom of a column, is called an *aſtragal.* They are here named on account of their minuteneſs, to expoſe an author's dwelling upon a ſubject till it becomes weariſome.

Happy who in his verſe, &c.

" Omne tulit punctum, qui miſcuit utile dulci,
" Lectorem delectando, pariterq; movendo, &c."
Hor. de Ar. Po. v. 342.

And the Mock-Tempeſt was a while renown'd.

The Tempeſt being revived at the duke's theatre in 1675, a farce called The Mock-Tempeſt, or the Inchanted Caſtle, was

brought out at the theatre royal. It was purpoſely written in a burleſque ſtile, and deſigned to draw people from the repreſentation of the Tempeſt, which was greatly followed. It is ſo ſcurrilous a piece, that when it was got up on the Dublin ſtage, moſt of the perſons of faſhion quitted the houſe before the firſt ſcene was ended. The name of the author was Thomas Duffett; he dealt in remnants of luxury, as well as rags of Parnaſſus, being a millener in the New Exchange, and is ſuppoſed to be the manmillener in a comedy much followed in that age, entitled, Tom Eſſence, written by Mr. Rawlins, principal engraver of the Mint, both in the reigns of Charles I. and II.

And left the villages to Flecknoe's reign.

That is, to the reign of dullneſs. We ſhall have farther occaſion to ſpeak of Flecknoe, when we come to the inimitable ſatire diſtinguiſhed by that name.

Millions of mourning mountains of the ſlain.

" De mourans et des morts cent Montagnes plaintives."
Brebeuf Trad. de Lucain.

Can any thing be more abſurd or bombaſtic, than a mourning mountain?

The fulleſt verſe and the moſt, &c.

" Quamvis enim ſuaves, graveſq; ſententiæ, tamen ſi incondi-
" tis verbis efferuntur, offendent aures, quarum eſt judicium ſu-
" perbiſſimum. *Cic. ad Brut.*

Fairfax was he, who in that darker age.

Edmund Fairfax flouriſhed in the time of Charles I. He tranſlated Godfrey of Bulloign, from the Italian of Taſſo, into alternate verſe: and his tranſlation is even at this time eſteemed a very noble production. Mr. Thiresby tells us, there are ſtill ſome original manuſcripts of this incomparable poet preſerved in the library of the church of Leeds.

Then Davenant came, &c.

Sir William Davenant was ſon to a vintner in Oxford, whoſe houſe was often viſited by Shakeſpear; rather, ſay ſome, for the ſake of the handſome landlady, than the good wine. It is ſaid, that the father of our ſtage encouraged him much, by praiſing ſome of his boyiſh pieces. He was entered of Lincoln-college at the age of ſixteen, and was entertained ſucceſſively in the families of the Dutcheſs of Richmond and Lord Brook. He ſucceeded

Ben Jonſon, anno 1637, as poet-laureat, and enjoyed the poſt during the reigns of Charles I. and II. He wrote nineteen dramatic performances, by which he got a good deal of money. Having erected a theatre in little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and for it obtained a patent, he there firſt exhibited operas; and his improvement of ſcenery being much admired, drew the town to him: the other houſe bearing before that the preference, as having the beſt performers. He had been knighted by King Charles I. in 1643, and made general of the ordnance by the Marquis of Newcaſtle. He wrote his heroic poem, called Gondibert, in France, whither he had retired after the battle of Worceſter, and died in 1668, being ſixty-three years old., He is buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, with this epitaph under his buſt, imitative of Ben Jonſon's:

O rare Sir William Davenant!

Waller came laſt, &c.

Edmund Waller, Eſq; the ſon of a very eminent lawyer, who dying when he was young, left him with a patrimony of 3500 l. per annum, to the care of a mother, who ſpared no pains in his education. From Eton college, where he remained for ſome time, he was removed to King's college, Cambridge. Being a lad of extraordinary ſhining parts, he was choſen to repreſent Agmondeſham in the laſt parliament of James I. being then only ſeventeen years old. He was careſſed by the beſt and wittieſt people of his time, and was fined in the ſum of 10,000 l. and then baniſhed, under the uſurpation of Cromwell, for being concerned in ſome things that tended to promote the royal intereſt. Charles II. was very fond of him; and indeed he was univerſally admired for the elegance of his manners, his delicacy of taſte, and elevated genius. He was the firſt perſon who refined our language, adorning it with all the ſmoothneſs of verſification, and variety of harmony, that we at preſent can boaſt of; for to him we certainly owe as much as the French do to Cardinal Richlieu and the whole academy.

But find your faithful friends, &c.

" Truſt not yourſelf; but your defects to know,
" Make uſe of every friend, &c. *Pope.*

Yet ſtill he ſays you may, &c.

" Et verum, inquis, amo: Verum mihi dicite de me."
Perſ. Sat. I.

Quinault, a poet of some reputation, is levelled at here, who sought the friendship of Boileau, after he had been treated by him with severity in his satires. "This man, Boileau used to say, has "reconciled himself to me, and visits me often to talk of his "own poetry; but he never takes an opportunity to say a word "of mine."

CANTO II.

In this and the following canto, we find a division and examination of the different species of poetry; among which pastoral justly leads the way, as being certainly the most antient.

You'd swear that Randal, &c.

Mr. Samuel Johnson thinks, that this should be Randolph, Ben Johnson's adopted son, who wrote some pastorals. In the original mention is made in this place of Pierre Ronsaid, a poet of he sixteenth century, in great esteem with Henry II. Francis II. Henry III. and Charles the IXth, Kings of France. He wrote eclogues, in which he puerilized the names of Henry and Charles, both of them his sovereigns, into Henriot and Carlin; he called Catherine de Medicis familiarly Catin, &c.

A faultless sonnet, &c.

The provincial poets used to wander from town to town, and court to court, singing or reciting verses: they are by some supposed to have given Petrarch the hint of writing those beautiful sonnets which he has left us.

The lawyer with conceit adorn'd, &c.

Eloquence was but in an indifferent state in the beginning of the seventeenth century, but rather worse in France than among us. Both the pulpit and bar were abused with Greek and Latin quotations incessantly made, and often not to the purpose. These gave way to quirks, quibbles, quaint conceits, and other pieces of false wit. No man contributed more to destroy those innovations upon taste than Boileau.

SATIRE.

Our author has discoursed largely and learnedly upon this species of poetical writing in his dedication of Juvenal, to which we refer the reader.

Horace his pleaſing wit to this, &c.

" Omne vaſer vitium ridenti flaccus amico
" Tangit, et admiſſus circum præcordia ludit,
" Callidus excuſſo populum ſuſpendere naſo." *Perſ. Sat.* I.

Makes David Logan, &c.

A noted engraver.

CANTO III.

TRAGEDY.

There's not a monſter bred, &c.

This ſimile is borrowed from Ariſtotle, who ſays, " Nothing " pleaſes mankind ſo much as imitation: therefore we are fond " of painting; altho it may exhibit the moſt hideous objects, the " originals of which we ſhould abhor. The more perfect the " imitation, (continues he) the greater the ſatisfaction; but this " ſatisfaction ariſes from reaſon and compariſon, not from the ac- " tual beauty of the original copied. It is the ſkill of the artiſt " that communicates the pleaſure."

See Ariſt. Poetic. ch. iv. *and on Rhet.* l. i. ch. xi. *pref.* 28.

——————— *tragedy in tears*
For Oedipus, provokes our hopes, and fears:
For parricide Oreſtes aſks relief, &c.

I believe the Œdipus of Sophocles, and the Oreſtes of Euripides, were meant here by the tranſlator as well as the author. However, there is a note in all the editions that I have ſeen of this poem, that gives the mention of Œdipus as a compliment to Dryden from Sir William Soames.

A Spaniſh poet may, &c.

Lopez de Vega, a famous Spaniſh poet, has left behind him a great number of plays, deemed maſterpieces of genius, tho void of regularity. His Valentine and Orſon are born in the firſt act, and well advanced in years in the laſt. Shakeſpear has been guilty of ſome ſimilar overſights; for example, in his Winter's Tale. His Othello too is tranſported by the ſhifting of a ſcene from Venice to Cyprus. He often carries us by the ſame machine, in the ſame ſpace from England to France and back again. His Hamlet makes a ſea-voyage.

But we that are by reaſon's rules, &c.

What our author ſays here of the rules proper for tragedy, with its riſe and progreſs, he owes to Ariſtotle, Horace, and Diog. Laer-

tius's life of Solon. To refer to the particular paſſages, would take up too much time.

A troop of ſilly pilgrims, &c.

In the fifteenth century all the ſtories of the Old and New Teſtament were played by way of ſhews in France, England, &c. firſt in churches, where, under the name of myſteries, they were incorporated with the divine ſervice, and afterwards in public theatres; but at length theſe exhibitions were ſuppreſſed as ſcandalous to religion.

Or for a Cyrus ſhew, &c.

Artamen, the name given to Cyrus, in Madam Scudery's famous romance of Cyrus.

Chapenan in Buſſy D'Ambois, &c.

Dryden burned a copy of this play annually, to the memory of Ben Jonſon. *See preface to Spaniſh Fryar.*

Make not your Hecuba, &c.

Boileau had an eye here upon the Troas of Seneca, in the firſt ſcene of which, Hecuba oddly repeats this line; *Septena tanain ora pandentem bibit.* The French is, *Par ſept bouches l' Euxine recoit le Tanais.* I muſt own the Engliſh tranſlation of it does not pleaſe me, "Or tell in vain, &c."

To chuſe King Chilperic for his hero, &c.

In the original it is *Childebrand*, the chief perſonage of a French heroic poem, called *Les Sarrazins chaſſez de France*, by Sieur de St. Garde, who, in return for this raillery, publiſhed *La defence des beaux eſprits*, in which Boileau is treated with great ill manners.

Nor imitate that fool, &c.

Monſ. St. Amant, in his poem intitled Moiſe Sauvè, brings the fiſhes to their windows to ſee the Jews croſs the Red Sea.

"Et la, *dit il*, pres des ramparts, que l'oil peut tranſpercer,
"Les poiſſons ebahis le regardent paſſer."

Be your beginning plain, &c.

The following precept is taken from Horace's Art of Poetry, vide from 136 to 146. Boileau, inſtead of Horace's *Fortunam Priami*, &c. draws his example from Scuderi; the firſt line of whoſe Alaric is,

"Je chante le vainqueur de vainqueurs de la terre."
He who earth's conquerors ſubdu'd I ſing.

And where Horace tranſlates Homer's beginning of the Iliad, as

a ſpecimen of ſimplicity, our author ſubſtitutes the firſt lines of the Æneid, as more generally known, and conſequently more enforcing.

I'd rather read Orlando, &c.

Orlando Furioſo, a celebrated poem, written by Arioſto, who is therefore by ſome preferred to Taſſo. We have two tranſlations of it; one done by Sir John Harrington, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign; the other by William Huggins, Eſq; a gentleman remarkable for his ſkill in the Italian poetry, and his love for polite learning: the latter is infinitely more perfect, and certainly the beſt book we have to give a true knowledge of the Italian tongue, and help to form a fine taſte.

——*Homer, matchleſs in his art,*
Stole Venus's girdle, &c.

One of the fineſt fictions in all the Iliad, is Juno's borrowing from Venus her zone, that ſhe might be the more fully enabled to bring Jupiter into her own meaſures.

" In this was ev'ry art, and ev'ry charm,
" To win the wiſeſt, and the coldeſt warm;
" Fond love, the gentle vow, the gay deſire,
" The kind deceit, the ſtill reviving fire,
" Perſuaſive ſpeech, and more perſuaſive ſighs,
" Silence that ſpoke, and eloquence of eyes."

Pope's Hom. B. XIV.

And whatſoe'er he touches, &c.

The thought ſeems to be taken from Ovid's Metamorphoſes. See the ſtory of Midas.

" Quicquid contigero fulvum vertatur in aurum."

Yet ſometimes artleſs poets, &c.

The ſatire here is levelled at Deſmarets, who publiſhed a treatiſe, to prove the French poets were every way ſuperior to the Greek and Roman; and, to ſupport his argument, he drew a compariſon between ſome of the fineſt paſſages in Virgil, and ſome favourite lines in his own poem, called Clovis. To which he gave the preference is not a queſtion; but he had firſt taken care to tell us, that the action of the Iliad was neither noble nor heroic; that the ſubject was defective, &c. that Virgil wanted genius; that his narrations, characters, ſentiments, and compariſons, abound with faults; that he ſins againſt probability, decorum, and judgment, &c. &c. but his own works had every perfection.

And Socrates himſelf, &c.

This great philoſopher was publicly ridiculed by name on the ſtage at Athens, by Ariſtophanes, in his comedy of the Clouds.

To name people upon the theatre, to assume their resemblance, or affect their manner, by us called *taking off*, was afterwards, by different ordinances, forbid by the Athenian magistrates.

A humorous Otter, &c.

A character in Ben Jonson's Silent Woman.

Youth hot and furious, &c.

The characters of youth, manhood, and old age, as here described, are taken from Horace, and Louis XIV. was so fond of the passage, that he made the author repeat it over to him twice.

Horace gives us the character of childhood, which Boileau judiciously omits, as incapable of cutting any great figure in an epic poem.

A careful father, &c.

The example is drawn from Terence, particularly in his *Heautontimorumenos*, Act I. Scene I. Clitiphon speaks thus of his father Chremes' advice :

" Abstutus! næ illehaud scit, quam mihi nunc surdo narret
" fabulam, magis nunc me amicæ dicta stimulant."

CANTO IV.

Talks like a Wren and May.

Sir Christopher Wren, and Mr. May, were two of the king's architects; the former planned St. Paul's, St. Stephen Walbrook, &c. &c.

These benefits from poets we, &c.

See the original of this passage in the Art of Poetry, line 391.
" Silvestres homines sacer, &c. &c."

Now let rebellion, &c. &c.

The rumor of plots was now pretty well subsided; Shaftesbury, the soul of discontent, who had, under the appearance of a patriot, concealed the most nefarious views, was dead; and Charles, in this last year of his reign, enjoyed some little ease and satisfaction.

Oppos'd to all the Boutefeus, &c.

Boutefeu signifies an incendiary; a word that I think might have been here used as well.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Rare
Book
Room